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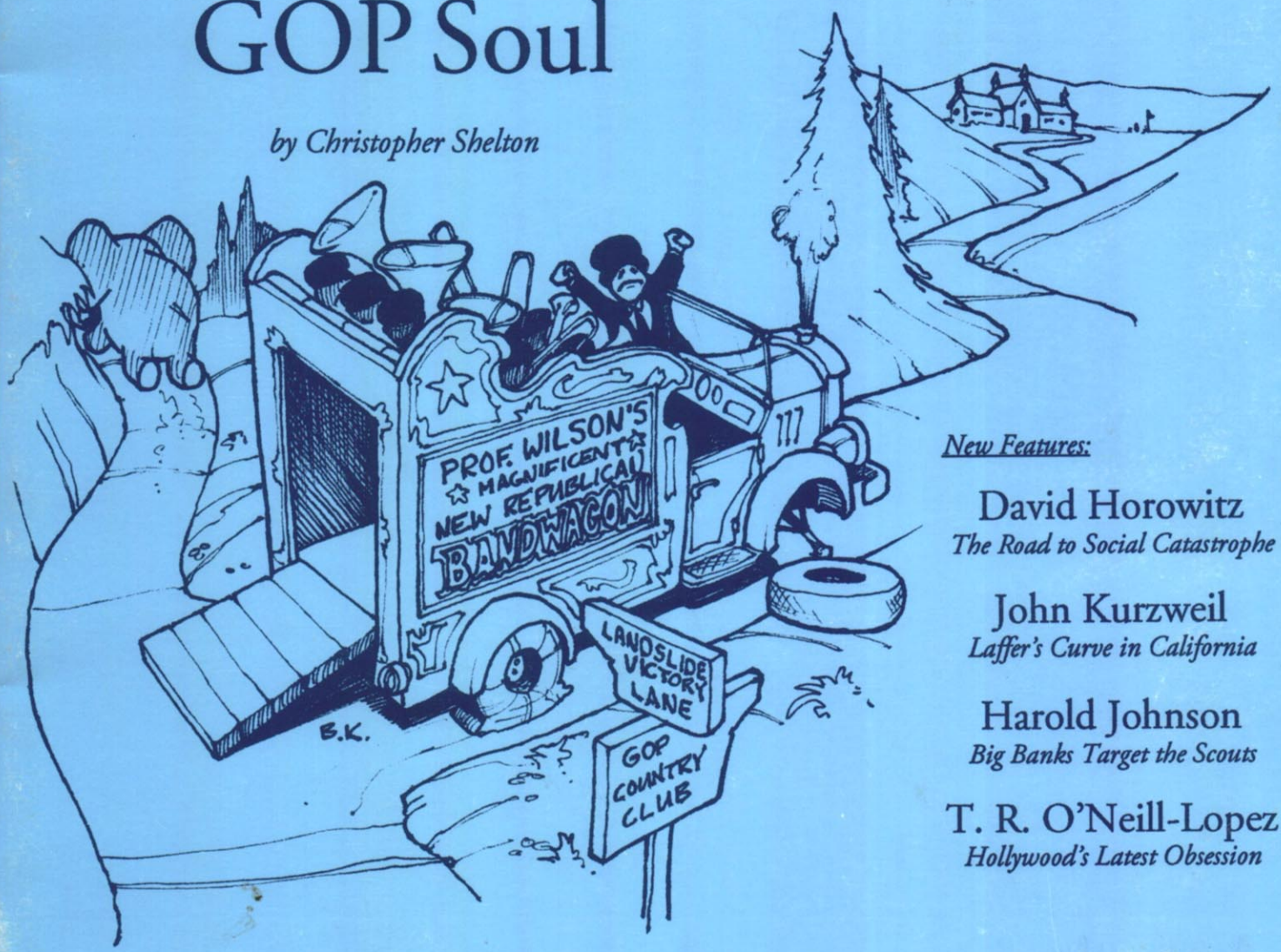
California Political Review

Battle for the GOP Soul

by Christopher Shelton



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The Road to Social Catastrophe

John Kurzweil
Laffer's Curve in California

Harold Johnson
Big Banks Target the Scouts

T. R. O'Neill-Lopez
Hollywood's Latest Obsession

Also:

William Bennett: Why Schools Fail Our Kids

Goodbye, California Your Dream is Done

Ed Meese On The Dreaded '80s

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California Political Review

Summer 1992

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June 2nd was to be a decisive step in Pete Wilson's campaign to remake the California Republican Party. Instead, it became his second wholesale massacre.

by Christopher Shelton

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For those who lived through them, the Ronald Reagan presidential years — the now-dreaded '80s — seem almost unrecognizable in the lurid distortions of them conjured up by establishment revisionists in politics and the media whose meager faith — liberalism — they shook so badly. Ed Meese restores some perspective.

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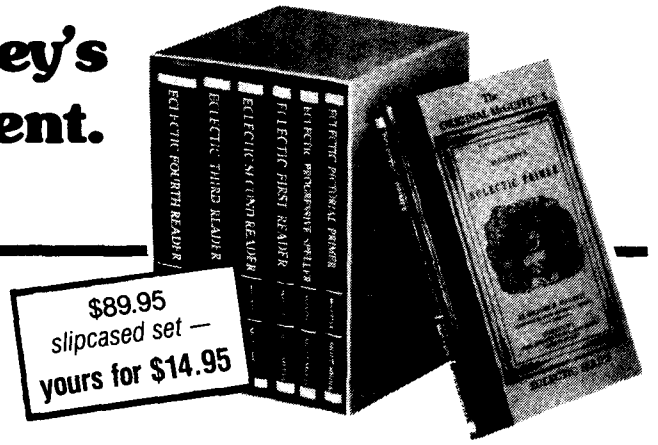

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Correspondence

Buchanan Post-Mortem

How can you equate "America First" with protectionism ("Buchanan Post-Mortem," *CPR*, Spring 1992)? Pat Buchanan's statement that there are more important things than economics does not imply he is anti-free trade. It means he is not a Libertarian. Since when are Republicans ideological libertarians anyway? I am in no way connected with Buchanan's campaign. I am merely a sympathizer and former "Crossfire" fan.

Kirk Ireland
San Francisco

Apparently President Bush and Governor Wilson are not the only Republicans abandoning the Reagan legacy. Even so-called conservatives have forgotten the lessons of the '80s. For Mr. Buchanan to represent "America First" as conservative can only mean that conservatives are moving to the left. Could this be his version of Republican *moderation* (just as higher taxes and increased spending have become acceptable to Bush, Wilson, *et al.*)?

Protectionism is nothing but government interference in the marketplace no matter its goal. Basic Economics tells us that "fair trade" is an agreement between two parties for the mutual benefit of both. If indeed we are being treated unfairly by the Japanese or any other nation then we as consumers can make the decision not to trade. Would Mr. Buchanan (and his followers) have government deciding what is fair for me? This is not conservatism.

According to a Treasury Department study (cited in *American Economic Review* 72, No. 3) trade barriers (America First?) routinely cost American consumers 8 to 10 times as much as they benefit American producers. If Mr. Buchanan's goal is to benefit producers, then he can do so by putting his energies into getting government the hell out of the way. If his goal is to benefit the American consumer, then he should be dropping his bad idea.

Perhaps conservatives supporting this leftist idea should reconsider their position and think *Freedom First.*

Thank you for keeping the forum for true conservatism open and I look forward to each issue of *California Political Review.*

Gene Rusco
San Jose

Your commentary provided an insightful assessment of the reasons why both George Bush and Pat Buchanan have failed to inspire. You are correct in observing that George Bush's "ratings plummet because people believe he stands for nothing (except re-election)."

Buchanan was masterful in his ability to take a piece out of George Bush's hide. No one has been able to make Bush feel the heat for repudiating his "no new taxes" pledge like Buchanan. But, as you recognize, Buchanan chose to embrace protectionism, sending an inconsistent message that undermined his appeal. Gephardt and other Democrats who reject free trade have been unable to convert protectionism into political capital; Buchanan's efforts to do so were even more costly, because they were unprincipled — and made Bush look less unattractive than Buchanan's upstart candidacy, even after Bush's embarrassing visit to Japan with Lee Iacocca.

As president, Reagan may not have delivered as effectively as he spoke, but he at least was able to use the rhetoric of liberty to motivate the electorate. Given his effectiveness as a stump speaker and Bush's political disarray, Buchanan was positioned to galvanize many voters. Instead, his campaign bogged down when he chose the populist route rather than articulating a consistent vision of liberty.

Your post-mortem was timely and refreshing. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me Marrou in '92!

Manuel S. Klausner
Los Angeles

Any journal denigrating the estimable Patrick J. Buchanan is not welcome in my home.

James F. Brady
Bonita

We didn't denigrate Mr. Buchanan, we disagreed with him. But we agree with Mr. Brady to this extent: anyplace thoughtful disagreement between honorable men is unwelcome is no place for CPR.
Editor

An English Professor Who Can Write

This is to tell you how much I enjoyed your Spring 1992 issue, especially "Down Home in California." Not many English professors write as well as Mr. Tennyson; and his subject in this piece was fun for me because I've driven that road many times over the years and recognized the shops and eating places he mentions. I hope he'll be contributing again soon.

Jack Edwards
Los Angeles

Ultimate Blurring

I generally enjoy *CPR* but it was something of a jar to find Dennis Prager's jour-

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California Political Review

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

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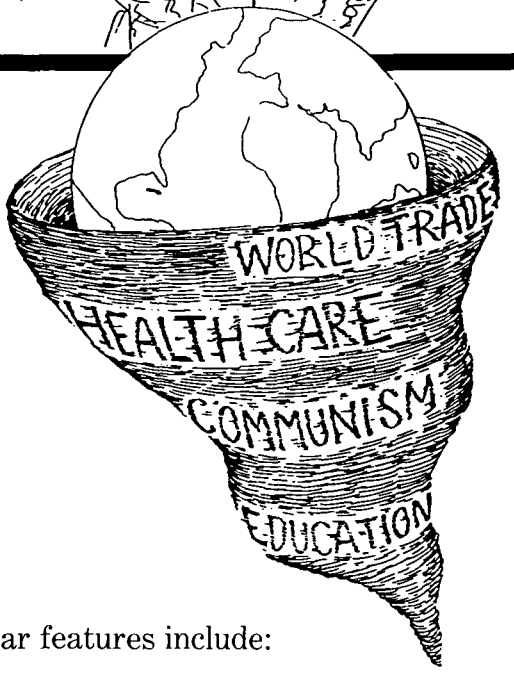

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California Chronicles

Anne McFadden, editor

South Africa Education Fund, Inc.

Lessons for LA

SAEF is sponsoring a series of visits to major American cities by Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, founder and president of South Africa's Inkatha Freedom Party. Buthelezi spoke June 6 to a group of young people at the Hollenbeck Center in East Los Angeles. Chief of the Zulus, Buthelezi is chief minister of KwaZulu, an area comprising what now remains of the once vast dominion of the Zulu nation. He is a veteran of more than four decades of fighting apartheid. The Inkatha Party is the largest membership-based black liberation movement in South Africa's history. It is dedicated to establishing democracy and peace in that country.

Hollenbeck is a youth center founded by a coalition of local businesses and police at the L.A.P.D.'s Hollenbeck division (headquartered adjacent to the Center).

Titling his speech "Bridging the Grand Canyon," Buthelezi addressed many of his country's problems, including its vicious political violence, and how they especially affect young people. He drew parallels with the recent rioting in Los Angeles. He said the young South Africans who've been deprived by the fighting of opportunities to learn and grow normally are a "lost generation" in his country, a fate he said young people share anywhere that educational and economic opportunities are limited. We each have the power to choose right or wrong, he said, to build or to destroy — a power no situation or degradation can take from us.

He spoke tellingly about the effects of the sanctions upon the people they were supposed to assist. "The economy which fed whites also fed blacks. The sanctions which made rich whites a little poorer, also made blacks a lot poorer. We blacks knew we were going to inherit South Africa, and we who lived here knew more than the sanctioners abroad that we would need a sound economy to support our fragile democracy." Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City, and some states, including California, still impose anti-South African sanctions, though federal sanctions have been removed.

Buthelezi said that "the lesson to learn is that destroying the property of another reduces the resources available to yourself." He said his Inkatha Freedom Party "knew that democracy was possible only with capitalism and that capitalism was possible only with democracy. But it was opposed by socialists who wanted to put the economy in the hands of the state .... socialists who thought of the liberation of blacks only in terms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, [who] hoped to damage the market economy and to imperil capitalism so that socialism would succeed apartheid. Thus the lost generation in South Africa has the double disadvantage of being both lost themselves and being led by losers. But of course, socialism is a loser's philosophy and is certainly a lost cause." Buthelezi's next speech should be at Stanford.

He was well received, although the crowd was sparse and the dearth of media coverage evident. Surely his perspicacious words deserved a wider audience. Contact: T. L. "Thom" Holmes, director, South Africa Education Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 19340, Los Angeles, CA 90019-0340; 202/429-6566.

Criminal Justice Legal Foundation

Equal Justice for All?

CJLF was on the winning side in the recently-decided *Georgia v. McCollum* case, in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that criminal defendants may not seek to exclude potential jurors on racial grounds. The case is particularly interesting in the wake of the controversy over jury selection in the Rodney King case. CJLF joined the prosecutors in arguing that the precedent established in 1991's *Powers v. Ohio,*

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which barred race-based jury selection by the prosecution, must also apply to the defense.

The high court first ruled against prosecutor discrimination in jury selection in *Batson v. Kentucky* (1986) on the grounds that it violated the constitutional rights of criminal defendants. *Powers* went further, saying jurors of any race have a constitutional right to serve.

McCollum involves three white members of a family that owns a dry cleaning business who are accused of using a baseball bat to assault a young black woman who came to pick up her clothing. The prosecution intended to argue that the race of the victim was a factor in the alleged assault. It asked the trial judge to order defense attorneys not to discriminate by race in jury selection to keep them from securing an all-white jury that might unduly favor their case. The judge and the Georgia Supreme Court turned down the request and the Attorney General appealed to the Supreme Court.

The decision was criticized by Stephen Ralston of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. "It's pretty difficult for African-American defendants to get blacks on the jury," he said. Thus, the high court, he argued, should have prevented white defendants from excluding black jurors, but allowed black defendants to block white jurors — all in the interest of reducing racism and insuring equal justice, Mr. Ralston wants us to know.

The 7-2 decision was written by Justice Harry Blackmun and was not supported by all the Supreme Court's conservatives. In dissent, Justice Sandra O'Connor ridiculed the opinion's "remarkable conclusion that criminal defendants being prosecuted by the state" fall under the 14th Amendment's ban on official discrimination. Joining O'Connor, Justice Antonin Scalia called the decision's reasoning "terminally absurd." In separate opinions, Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justice Clarence Thomas concurred with the majority but only, they wrote, because past decisions compelled them to do so. For further information contact: Michael Rushford, president, Criminal Justice Legal Foundation, P.O. Box 1199 Sacramento, CA 95812; 916/446-0345.

American Policy Center

Waxman's Noxious Gas

The May 15 edition of APC's *EPA Watch* examines the Global Climate Protection Act (H.R. 4750), introduced by Congressman Henry Waxman, whom Democrat voters recently nominated to continue representing California's 29th congressional district (Los Angeles) in Washington. Waxman's bill, which must pass before Congress's August adjournment or wait to be re-introduced next year, rivals the rabid environmentalist proposals recently emanating from Rio de Janeiro. Democrat Representative Rick Boucher kindly called it "fundamentally flawed." It is one of the most radical environmental proposals ever introduced in Congress.

The bill's stated purpose is to achieve stabilization of CO_2 emissions by January 1, 2000, at 1990 levels. It would require the president to adopt the usual economy-strangling regulations and — what is really scary — it would give all federal agencies a blank check, if you will excuse the expression, to write any regulations deemed necessary to regulate all fossil fuels. Waxman's lifelong dream of a government completely out of control would be significantly advanced.

That Waxman's proposal has little to do with sound environmental policy is supported by a recent National Academy of Science report (described in this issue of *EPA Watch*). NAS concludes that the current state of science regarding changes in the earth's temperature is too uncertain to warrant such drastic measures as this bill proposes. NAS instead supports steps to ameliorate the situation that won't cause major economic hardships. Contact: American Policy Center, 14140L Parke Long Ct., Chantilly, VA 22021; 703/968-9768. CPR

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 4)

nal *Ultimate Issues* written up ("California Chronicles," *CPR*, Spring 1992) as an example of "conservative journalism" that is "especially concerned about the blurring of society's understanding of good and evil and the troubling consequences that result from it." Thumbing through the January-March 1992 issue of Prager's magazine I found an unsigned article titled "Adultery and Politicians" which argues that "a generally accepted list of the greatest American leaders of the last half century includes Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr." Wonderful conservatives all!

"Each of them committed adultery," the article continues, " — in the cases of Kennedy and King, with numerous women." This, the writer concludes, proves "absurd" the idea that marital infidelity indicates untrustworthyness in a leader.

Skipping over, for the moment, the nonsense about the "greatness" of Franklin Roosevelt, the genius of Yalta, I would ask how it helps fight the "blurring of society's understanding of good and evil" to ignore the dishonesty inherent in breaking marital promises. It is by no means "absurd" to say that a man willing to betray his wife's trust will probably also lie to the voters. The article's point seems to be either that breaking marriage vows is a trivial sort of "white lie" and thus not a fair measure of a man's honesty, or that honesty is unimportant as a measure of leadership. This is no blurring; it is an obliteration of understanding of good and evil. I hope conservative journalism can do better than this.

Michael Parnell
Ventura

Remarkable Candidates

It is remarkable that, in the writings of four potential senators, ("Candidates Forum," *CPR*, Spring 1992) not one of them mentioned our international border with Mexico as a problem worthy of attention. Can they be so isolated from reality that they are unaware that the uncontrolled border is a major problem in this state as well as in ever-more parts of the country?

In this sector alone, the Border Patrol intercepts half a million illegals trying to

(Please turn to page 8)

Notebook

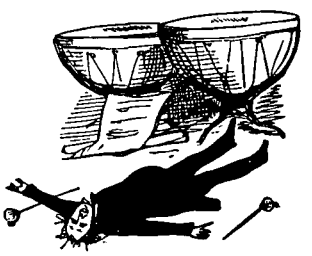
The Bush-Quayle Juggernaut

DISPLAYING ALL the political savvy now routinely associated with George Bush's administration, Bush-Quayle spokeswoman Torie Clarke recently discussed the possibility of Pat Buchanan addressing the GOP National Convention. "He has to get down on his hands and knees and grovel on broken glass with his mouth open and his tongue hanging out — and then we'll talk," Clarke told the *San Diego Union-Tribune*. Very encouraging. The president should have no trouble this fall ....

Perennial survivor George E. Brown, one of Congress's most liberal Democrats representing one of California's most conservative areas (the San Bernardino-Riverside "Inland Empire"), may finally have run out of luck or, more specifically, he may finally have run out of gerrymander. This year's redistricting has reduced the Democrat registration advantage in Brown's 42nd district sufficiently to give his opponent, Republican Dick Rutan, a realistic shot at capturing the seat. A 1988 *Wall Street Journal* article published a few days before Brown's re-election that year noted that "Mr. Brown tells constituents he supports greater defense spending, though he regularly votes for less; and that he 'voted for the stronger death penalty provisions in the 1988 Drug Act,' though he had opposed the death penalty amendment." Brown told the *Journal*: "I'm not happy having to do this, but what can you do? That's the way politics is run these days." We'll see how Brown's tactics do in '92 ....

THE QUALIFICATION of the Congressional term limits initiative for the November ballot has Democrat representatives howling. "It cheapens democracy," lamented George Miller of Martinez, who went on to invoke images of Tian An Men Square and the falling Berlin Wall, but said not a word about Phil Burton's "contribution to modern art" — the 1982 redistricting plan that shut California voters out of the process for the past 10 years. Retiring Representative William E. Dannemeyer, meanwhile, endorsed term limits saying "this will enable us to move away from pork barreling and focus on ideological divisions on issues" ....

If Dannemeyer is right (and if term limits become law), the shift to issues should please voters. A June *Los Angeles Times* article on "the newest turn in presidential politics — the rediscovery of viewer call-in shows" surveyed questions ordinary Americans asked Bill Clinton and Ross Perot during appearances on "Today," "Larry King Live," and CBS's "National Town Hall." "Of roughly 100 questions asked," the *Times* commented, "almost all focused on where the candidates stand on issues and policy. Unlike reporters on many interview shows, few viewers inquired into anyone's personal life, poll standings or attacks from opponents." And we thought Lee Atwater was responsible for all that "negative" campaigning ....



WHO WROTE these words? "The absence of the father is so strongly related to the propensity to engage in violent criminal behavior that a 1988 study of 57 neighborhoods found that father-absence was far more important than either race or poverty in predicting high levels of violent crime .... [I]n the first part of this century the majority of black children, like the majority of white children, lived in families with mothers and fathers. By the 1980s, however, the number of fatherless families in the black community far exceeded the number in the white community .... People obey rules to the extent that they form a bond to society and the first bond is, of course, the family. Children with close bonds to mother and father (even when the father held a poor or low-status job) were less likely to become criminals." No, not Dan Quayle. The author is Elaine Ciulla Kamarck, a senior fellow at the *Progressive* Policy Institute writing in the *Los Angeles Times*. Perhaps the truth *will* out. CPR

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 7)

enter every year. Best estimates are that anywhere from one to three illegals make successful entry for each one intercepted. The result?

- Cheap labor for employers who defy the 1986 IRCA law to hire them, and often treat them abominably.
- Increased crime rates throughout the area and other parts of the country; a judge in Orange County found that 36 percent of his felony case load one year consisted of illegals. In this county, a study a couple of years ago found that 41 percent of those being held in jail were illegal felons.
- Enormous costs to school districts who must by law accept the children of illegals, including building construction to accommodate them.
- Taxpayer dollar costs at all levels of government to pay for the use by illegals of AFDC, welfare, food stamps, and medical care, as well as schooling. The most modest estimates of that cost are $35 billion a year.
- Most of the costs are hidden in overall agency budgets and are often the result of some judicial decision.

From reading the otherwise excellent summaries of these candidates' thoughts, any of them might be a good person to vote for. This omission might well be an indication that whichever Republican candidate might win — if one does — no more federal attention will be paid to the border than is now the case. Yet this is one United States problem that would be easy to fix, and nobody in a position to help fix what's wrong even addresses the topic!

Your excellent magazine would be a splendid place to begin to cover the topic for your readers who may not be aware of the difficulties. There are at least two national organizations, and many smaller ones in this immediate area, that are trying very hard to get the border under control, but nothing can be done without the aid of the administration and the Congress. It will take a great public outcry, and the rapt attention of the Congress, to accomplish anything productive. Won't you help?

Barbara McCarthy
San Diego

The problems you raise with regard to ille-

(Please turn to page 9)

Commentary

Going Native

> *Why, Richard, it profits a man nothing to give his soul for the whole world . . . But for Wales!*
>
> — *Thomas More,* A Man For All Seasons

In the early 1980s, columnist Stan Evans succinctly explained the process by which many of the earnest young conservatives arriving in Washington with the new Reagan administration, intent upon transforming the place, were instead themselves quickly transformed into defenders of the *status quo:* "They came thinking this was a cesspool but soon concluded it was really more like a hot tub."

Sadly, something along these lines seems the most likely explanation for Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy's abrupt betrayal of principle and law in two recent decisions: *Lee v. Weisman,* which called a brief, nonsectarian mention of God at a public school graduation ceremony unconstitutional, and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey,* which weakened but failed to overturn *Roe v. Wade.* When a man's integrity evaporates as precipitously as has Justice Kennedy's, the depth of the tragedy seems to demand some substantial cause. It should follow a desperate *Hamlet*-like struggle over the man's soul leading to his final disastrous fall. It seems disproportionate that the whole matter should turn out to be as trivial as his having spent too much time on the D.C. cocktail circuit and having been too taken with the people he met there. But then, one of the best indications we have that Washington *is* a cesspool is the triteness even of its tragedies. Consider the contrast: Clarence Thomas couldn't be broken even through a nationally-televised smear campaign; with Kennedy all it took, seemingly, was the promise of acceptance into the elite Washington club. Kennedy's formal admission was announced by Harvard's Laurence Tribe, whose words of benediction (Tribe said Kennedy has "moved in a thoughtful direction") were duly pronounced. Congratulations Tony; you're in.

Appropriately enough, Justice Kennedy's own words, from 1989's *Allegheny County v. Greater Pittsburgh ACLU Chapter,* serve best to explain the legal errors in *Lee* as well as to show that, in Kennedy, we have a man who has abandoned his own best self. "The Establishment Clause," Kennedy wrote, "permits government some latitude in recognizing and accommodating the central role religion plays in our society....Any approach less sensitive to our heritage would border on latent hostility toward religion, as it would require government in all its multi-faceted roles to acknowledge only the secular, to the exclusion and so to the detriment of the religious."

Lee perpetuates precisely the federal government's hostility toward religion that began with the unconstitutional perversions of the Establishment

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 8)

gal aliens are particular cases of problems caused by liberal policies that affect people all over California. The common elements everywhere are an ineffective justice system; a wasteful, bureaucratized, state-run educational system with no competition to inspire efficiency or excellence; a wholly ill-conceived system of government transfer programs that encourage indolence; soaring taxes and regulations that punish productivity; and a general weariness with freedom and the spirit of self-reliance and moral responsibility required to sustain free institutions. These topics are addressed regularly in CPR. Isolating liberalism's bad effects as they appear in a particular category of people — illegals — would be misleading. The problem isn't that some people in California were born elsewhere but that everywhere in California productivity and responsibility are punished while unproductivity and irresponsibility are rewarded.

Editor

Congratulations on *CPR's* fine articles on the GOP candidates for California's Senate seats. All the candidates are promising voices of conservatism, i.e., civilization and awareness of reality. Any of them would serve his state and country well.

One weakness, though, is the idea that a line-item veto will be effective for spending control. It won't. Most line-item veto proposals limit it to discretionary outlays, those requiring annual appropriations, which take only 37.2 percent of the 1992 budget, while 49.3 percent is "mandatory," mostly entitlements. Entitlements — Social Security ($284.3 billion), Medicare ($116 billion), Medicaid ($72.5 billion), federal pensions ($78.3 billion), etc. — are bankrupting us, but a line-item veto won't touch them.

Yes, the pork is galling and should go, but with a deficit pushing $400 billion, we can't nickel-and-dime our way out. We will have to slash entitlements because that's where the big money is. May these fine candidates bring to this issue the same courage and common sense they manifest in so much else.

John Attarian
Ann Arbor, MI

Clause by the Warren Court in the 1960s. The excerpt from Justice Antonin Scalia's *Lee* dissent that appears below eloquently explains why this is misguided both as public policy and as law. But beyond that, the episode serves as one more illustration, as though any more were needed, of Washington's ability to bring out the smallness in men, which is what makes the place so depressing.

Senseless Policy, Unsupported In Law

The following is excerpted from Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia's dissenting opinion in Lee v. Weisman. *A related editorial appears above.*

THE READER has been told much in this case about the personal interest of Mr. Weisman and his daughter, and very little about the personal interests on the other side. They are not inconsequential. Church and state would not be such a difficult subject if religion were, as the Court apparently thinks it to be, some purely personal avocation that can be indulged entirely in secret, like pornography, in the privacy of one's room. For most believers it is *not* that, and has never been. Religious men and women of almost all denominations have felt it necessary to acknowledge and beseech the blessing of God as a people, and not just as individuals, because they believe in the "protection of divine Providence," as the Declaration of Independence put it, not just for individuals but for societies; because they believe God to be, as Washington's first Thanksgiving Proclamation put it, the "Great Lord and Ruler of Nations." One can believe in the effectiveness of such public worship, or one can deprecate and deride it. But the longstanding American tradition of prayer at official ceremonies displays with unmistakable clarity that the Establishment Clause does not forbid the government to accommodate it.

The narrow context of the present case involves a community's celebration of one of the milestones in its young citizen's lives, and it is a bold step for this Court to seek to banish from that occasion, and from thousands of similar celebrations throughout this land, the expression of gratitude to God that a majority of the community wishes to make. The issue before us today is not the abstract philosophical question whether the alternative of frustrating this desire of a religious majority is to be preferred over the alternative of imposing "psychological coercion," or a feeling of exclusion, upon non-believers. Rather, the question is *whether a mandatory choice in favor of the former has been imposed by the United States Constitution.* As the age-old practices of our people show, the answer to that question is not at all in doubt.

I MUST ADD one final observation. The founders of our Republic knew the fearsome potential of sectarian religious belief to generate civil dissension and civil strife. And they also knew that nothing, absolutely nothing, is so inclined to foster among religious believers of various faiths a toleration — no, an affection — for one another than voluntarily joining in prayer together, to the God whom they all worship and seek. Needless to say, no one should be compelled to do that, but it is a shame to deprive our public culture of the opportunity, and indeed the encouragement,

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Sacramento Spectator

Used and Abused

A THOROUGH analysis of the June 2 primary appears elsewhere in this issue, so I won't go into detail about winners and losers. However, your *Spectator* has picked up a couple of *très, très* interesting side stories from the election. One involves the governor's efforts in cajoling statewide associations to help bankroll his moderate Assembly candidates. Three stand out: the Correctional Peace Officers Association (prison guards), the California Realtors Association, and the California Medical Association. These organizations spent more than $1 million in the primaries, most of it supporting moderate GOP primary candidates who lost to conservatives.

The Correctional Officers and Realtors in particular feel used and abused. They feel the governor's folks misled them by failing to let them know they were being asked, in effect, to take the governor's side in an inter-party fight against their natural allies, the conservatives in the Assembly. In addition, both groups seriously depleted their warchests and may not have enough cash to allow them to offer significant help in November when it's time to beat Democrats. Rank and file members of both organizations are beating the tom-toms, and officers of one or both groups may lose their positions over the primary election fiasco.

THE CALIFORNIA Medical Association is a different story. Even though the overwhelming majority of doctors are Republicans and conservative, the CMA's political operation is run by two long-time, highly partisan Democrats. One of them — Steve Thompson — came to the CMA straight from Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's office a couple of years ago. CMA put more than $700,000 into primary elections, much of it down Wilson's "bash Assembly conservatives" rathole. They justify it using an abortion "litmus test" for their contributions. So, between searching out pro-abortion candidates and helping Wilson try to purge conservatives from the party, CMA ended up bankrolling a solidly pro-tax, anti-business slate in the primaries.

Any repercussions on the CMA political staff for wasting money on losing candidates? Not likely. CMA's members have no idea how their contributions are used, and the political staff is well known for its "bully boy" tactics, both against legislators and its own members. Somewhere, sometime, responsible doctors are going to have to drain the swamp that is their political operation. The sooner the better.

The other interesting side story involves Assemblyman B.T. Collins, who has turned out to be an unbelievably poor winner. Collins originally captured his Sacramento-area seat in a special election last summer and immediately set about insulting, threatening, and generally being a boor to anyone who had opposed him. Many folks gave him the benefit of the doubt, attributing his childish behavior to inexperience.

THE PATTERN has repeated itself, however, since his narrow 1,300-vote victory over conservative Barbara Alby June 2. After he won last summer, Collins said he hoped his opponents would "drown in their own bile." He added that he had no need to build bridges to anyone who hadn't voted for him, since they were "irrelevant" and "hypocrites." Now he is sending snide notes with the election results attached to colleagues and staff suspected of being "disloyal," and has tried to get one poor citizen who opposed him removed as head of a local citizen's group.

The upshot has been a lot of shaking heads, even among Collins's friends. There used to be talk of a Wilson-Collins ticket for 1994 but Collins's petulant and, frankly, bordering-on-unbalanced behavior has quieted it. This spoiled child has a lot to learn.

And to close on a happy note, the Bill Jones "Leadership" of the Assembly Republicans is taking on water faster than the Titanic. Conservative victories across the state are widely seen as having demoted Jones to the status of interim leader in all but title. Almost certainly, new, steadier, and more conservative hands will be on the tiller after November.

—A.P.C.

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for people to do it voluntarily. The Baptist or Catholic who heard and joined in the simple and inspiring prayers of Rabbi Gutterman on this official and patriotic occasion was inoculated from religious bigotry and prejudice in a manner that cannot be replicated. To deprive our society of that important unifying mechanism, in order to spare the non-believer what seems to me the minimal inconvenience of standing or even sitting in respectful non-participation, is as senseless in policy as it is unsupported in law.

Can You See The 50-Yard Line?

A LATE MAY *Los Angeles Times* survey of political newsletter writers turned up the following interesting opinions: "Tom Campbell will be the other Republican winner, with 52 percent, because he's pro-choice ...." — Robert Balkin, editor-in-chief, *The Hotline*. "Campbell will win by three points: He's pro-choice, and choice is going to make a difference in this race." — *California Eye* editor Joe Scott. "Campbell's closer to the 50-yard line of where the state Republican Party is today....He'll get 45 percent; Herschensohn 43 percent...." — Charles E. Cook Jr., editor and publisher, *Cook Political Report*. "...Campbell by a hair." — Dirk D. Olin, editor and publisher, *California Republic*.

Only Dick Rosengarten, publisher of *California Political Week*, got it right, though uttering his accurate prediction seemed to leave him pained and distraught: "In a low-turnout primary, you sort of have to give the edge to Herschensohn."

NEWS FLASH: According to national pollster The Wirthlin Group, "The 53 percent of Americans who take a pro-life position support legalized abortion in three or fewer cases: rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother....Among those who support legal abortion, 11 percent believe abortions should be allowed at any time during pregnancy for any reason." *That* is Tom Campbell's position on abortion, one supported by fewer Americans than would like to see capital punishment abolished. Campbell was lucky his extreme "choice" position was largely ignored by the voters. Had it actually been the deciding factor the experts thought it would be, Herschensohn would not have won narrowly; he would have buried poor Tom. CPR

The Protracted Conflict *At Home*

Tapping into the Radical Melodrama

The Road to Social Catastrophe

David Horowitz

IF THE end of the Cold War marks a triumph for America, it also marks a paradox. All over the world, people who cherish and seek freedom look to this country and its political ideals for inspiration and support. The United States has been the leader of the free world during the entire postwar period. For the world's oppressed, the political culture of America is the culture of freedom.

But here, at home, in the very institutions of that culture, there is a different feeling. The self-doubt that paralyzed Americans after the Vietnam War may have been purged in part by more recent triumphs, but its half-life still lingers, cherished by political leftists for whom America will always be the enemy rather than the liberator. Entrenched, as never before, on the faculties of our elite universities and throughout the nation's cultural institutions, these leftists try to indoctrinate the next generation of Americans in the discredited ideologies of the radical past, portraying this country as a predatory and imperialist power, a wellspring of racism and sexism and the oppressive culture of dead white European males.

This column is named in honor of James Burnham's long-running *National Review* feature, "The Protracted

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Conflict," which chronicled communism's worldwide war against the West during the 1950s, '60s, and '70s. The title of this new column reflects the American left's shift of focus from foreign to domestic affairs. It will trace their "long march" through the educational, political, and social institutions of Western civilization and consider the waste and destruction for the rest of us that their efforts create.

RECENTLY, I wrote a piece touching on how reporting and commentary about the Los Angeles riots showed a proclivity for tapping into the radical melodrama, employing socially destructive terms like "haves" and "have nots," "privileged" and "deprived," "oppressors" and "oppressed." The reaction to that piece from some of its readers, which included the editor of a widely-read Los Angeles-based journal of opinion, is instructive of how easily, almost reflexively, many Americans fall into a mode of thinking that is profoundly opposed to America's defining political and social ideals.

I wrote that these divisive terms of the left incite envy and resentment towards the productive and wealth generating members of society, while blaming them for the plight of those less capable and less fortunate, as well as those who have simply failed — the unproductive, the dependent and the just plain criminal. I said that this resentment most often takes the form of calls for a redistribution of income as the necessary means to achieve "social justice" — the twin battle cries of the political left.

How often have we heard that "society" is responsible for the homeless and the poor and now for the riots? I pointed out, following social philosopher and 1974 Nobel Prize winner Frederich A. Hayek, that where the exchange of labor is voluntary, no group or individual is responsible for the distribution of economic rewards and, in addition, that no group or government could ever obtain the information necessary to arrive at a standard that would make any distribution economically "just."

This elicited from one reader a list of injustices he had personally witnessed — "instances where blacks were barred from apartment buildings, from schools, from a Boy Scout troop, and even, at one time, from a movie theater ...." But even recognizing that these are largely instances from the segregated past, I have no quarrel with the use of the term "injustice" to describe them. Unlike the unequal distribution of economic rewards, these are identifiable acts of identifiable individuals and groups who must be held accountable. These are "social injustices" in the sense that they are perpetrated by groups against groups. But this is not what the term "social injustice" is specifically meant to convey when it is used in political debate.

My reader cited other instances that are less persuasive: "taxis that drive past blacks without stopping (in New York City at least) ... and the hassling of blacks by police ...." But many of the taxi drivers who will not drive into an inner city area like Harlem, say at night, and many of the police accused of "hassling" blacks are black themselves. Forty percent of the shootings of black civilians by police are by police who are black. Young black males in urban America are far more dangerous as a group than males of other races, particularly Asians and whites. One in four black males in California has a criminal record. Blacks make up 12 percent of the national population but account for 61 percent of the robberies, 54 percent of the murders and 43 percent of the rapes. Most crimes committed by blacks are committed against other blacks but in 90 percent of the cases of interracial crimes between these two groups, the victim is white. For a white cab driver, the decision to avoid picking up black males, unfair as it may seem and/or be, can be seen in another light as an act of prudence. Who can say what the morally correct solution is?

Similarly, Los Angeles has 8,000 police — and an estimated 150,000 gang members. Aggressive tactics — hassles — are often a means of pre-empting an attack. Those who think the truncated Rodney King video proves otherwise, should read the current issue of *The American Lawyer*, which features an 8,000-word analysis of the trial by a liberal attorney who monitored the proceedings and who concludes — against his own predilections — that the verdict was correct.

REDISTRIBUTION OF wealth is not an idea that has been relegated to history along with the Soviet Empire. Listen to the Democrats' presidential candidate call for yet new taxes on the rich to finance still more programs designed to redress "social injustice." Fifty-three percent of the current federal budget goes to "entitlements" — that is, to people who do not earn what they receive but get it by virtue of some recently invented "economic right." In the last 30 years we have redistributed two and a half trillion dollars from the "haves" to the "have nots" which has expanded the powers of government exponentially and created a new, unprecedented class of poor who are alienated, fatherless, and violent.

For more than a hundred years, the call for "social

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justice" — meaning the radical restructuring of society's wealth — has been the principal rallying cry of progressives and socialists, the very people responsible for the worst atrocities of this century, and any century. There is a direct correlation between the call for social justice and the creation of social catastrophe. Why is it so difficult for us to learn this lesson and move on to better and, indeed, more compassionate futures? CPR

The Price of Socialism

Laffer's Curve in California

Why the Budget Gap Just Keeps on Growing

John Kurzweil

LEONARD E. READ'S brilliant 1958 essay, "I, Pencil," describes, from the point of view of one simple lead pencil, the vast, spontaneous, worldwide cooperation of literally millions of human beings that is required to bring that pencil into being. Read concludes by writing:

> [I]f you can become aware of the miraculousness which I symbolize, you can help save the freedom mankind is so unhappily losing. For, if one is aware that these bits of know-how will naturally, yes, automatically, arrange themselves into creative and productive patterns in response to human necessity and demand — that is, in the absence of governmental or any other coercive master-minding — then one will possess an absolutely essential ingredient for freedom: a faith in free men. Freedom is impossible without faith.

Read's "I, Pencil" is a good anti-toxin for those tender innocents who go through life thinking that socialism is "idealistic," even if not terribly realistic. Lincoln Steffens thought the most wonderful thing he could say upon returning from the Soviet Union was not only that he had seen the "future" but that "it works," as though the last difficulty keeping mankind from crossing over into paradise, the confounded impracticality of socialism, had finally been overcome.

But that is not socialism's flaw. The fatal defect is its lack of faith in free men. With no faith either in one's own freedom or the freedom of others, "idealism" turns out to be a morbid search for ways not to "work," but to evade work, to escape work's pain and self-sacrifices because they seem meaningless and pointless and, finally, to get someone else to do the work necessary to stay alive. Socialist "idealism" is really about abandoning responsibilities — to government, which levies taxes that force others to work for us — while we consume ourselves in laziness, dishonesty, and above all, selfishness. If these are ideals, then socialists are indeed idealists.

This column is about the costs of socialist ideals — particularly dishonesty. Socialism tells us that people will work, see their earnings taken from them forcibly, but then go back to work as if they had lost nothing. Why? Because their needs will be met by government. But government, of course, does *not* meet their needs, and the people do *not* keep on working, at whch point both freedom and prosperity are lost.

ECONOMIST ARTHUR LAFFER drew up his famous curve to try to indicate the general point at which the combination of government ineptitude and greed would induce people to quit working. He pointed out that tax rates can be raised to a point at which a worker says to himself: my next hour of work will not, after taxes, bring in more money than I think my work is worth so, instead, I'll relax. Laffer was roundly derided for, in effect, contradicting socialism's lie that people's work may be taken for granted. Taxes keep going up, as they did last year in California by $8 billion. At least that's the amount the politicians who passed them thought the new taxes would bring in. This experiment in socialist

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idealism has now afforded Mr. Laffer an opportunity to do some deriding of his own.

"Nothing seems able to make politicians understand that higher tax rates do not automatically translate into more money," he wrote recently in *The Wall Street Journal*. "For some reason unknown to politicians, people don't work to pay taxes. People will work to avoid paying taxes, and if necessary will stop working to avoid paying taxes."

That's why the vast new revenues the governor and the Democrats keep expecting always fail, like Godot, to show up. Since 1990, Laffer points out, California has gone from being America's 21st-most heavily taxed state to 12th. In 1990, the deep thinkers in Sacramento supposed this progress toward socialism would give us general fund revenues of nearly $40 billion in fiscal 1990 and more than $43 billion in 1991. The next year's projections were $40 billion for fiscal 1991 and nearly $46 billion for 1992. Later figures had fiscal 1992 coming in at $43.6 billion and 1993 delivering $45.7 billion.

"In fact, of course," Laffer wrote, "California's general fund revenues peaked at $38.5 billion in 1990 and have been dropping ever since .... Much to the delight of California's neighbors, the state has become steadily less competitive."

California's per capita income rate, for instance, grew last year, but only by 1.3 percent, well below the 2.1 percent national average, while nearby states were doing quite well in comparison: Arizona's per capita income went up 2.5 percent; Oregon's up 2.4; Washington's 3.5; and Utah's 3.9. Among our neighbors, only Idaho at 1.0 and Nevada at an anemic 0.7 gained less than California. We've lost 750,000 jobs since 1990. The state's bond rating is dropping, along with the real estate market, like a rock.

EVERY CON game begins with a promise of something for nothing and is usually carried off with an appeal to the sucker's pride, envy, laziness, and his willingness to ignore plain truth when his appetites make fantasy seem more appealing. Sometimes the sucker can even be induced to be proud of having been taken. It's true! Just tell him he's an idealist. CPR

The Private Sector

Corporate California Targets The Boy Scouts

Big Business Discovers Duty, Honor, Reverence — and Vows to Squash Them

Harold Johnson

CONSERVATIVES SAY government power cannot sustain people who have grown too weary to go on exerting themselves as free men and women. For this we are labeled "negative," as in a recent *Los Angeles Times* article that described American conservatism as "a movement that throughout its history has largely been defined by what it is against." Granted it is a promising sign whenever liberal organs like the *Times* notice that conservatism *is* a movement at all. But there is still this persistent, superficial, and misleading idea that we must be either *for* government or for nothing at all — as though individual initiative, self-reliance, and voluntary cooperation never occurred, as though there were no families, churches, synagogues or non-public schools, no clubs or associations, no non-compulsory philanthropy, in short, as if the voluntary institutions and activities responsible for almost every constructive accomplishment in American history had actually, miraculously somehow never existed.

THIS NONSENSE can't be maintained for long, so the next step is to impugn the motives behind all this voluntary activity. The moral considerations actually at work are implicitly denied while greed, bigotry or some other low, anti-social force is said to be actually at work. Whole organizations with huge budgets exist (the Amer-

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ican Civil Liberties Union perhaps chief among them) solely to go around trying to discredit Americans' characteristic voluntary generosity and the strong sense of right and wrong that motivates it. It is an absolutely necessary component of the liberal assault on our freedom. It "proves" that we *need* government since people are too perverse to do anything right when left on their own.

This column will now and in the future consider the many neglected or falsely maligned private sector activities and institutions that actually keep America going and the ongoing efforts of the left to discredit them.

At the moment, for instance, the Boy Scouts are under attack, this time with the cooperation of four of California's largest firms: Wells Fargo (corporate phone number, *415-477-1000),* Bank of America *(415-622-3456),* Levi Strauss *(800-872-5384),* and First Interstate Bank of California *(213-614-4111).* Each recently announced they were canceling future donations to the Scouts because the Scouts don't allow homosexual scoutmasters.

The ironies are exquisite. At a time when kids are up against gangs, drugs, pregnancy, and suicide, how do these corporate giants respond? By targeting the Crips or Bloods? No, by going after Scouting and its dangerous values: duty, honor, reverence, and "helping other people at all times."

WHY ARE these firms pulling their support just now? Have they suddenly found they can't abide Scout policies that have been in place for 80 years? Or is this another cave-in to what my colleague David Horowitz calls "Homo-McCarthyism" which has placed the Scouts on its black list?

These companies want the Scouts to allow as scoutmasters men who are sexually attracted to other men (and who have the potential to develop crushes on young men — teen-agers — as well). Actually, what they want the Scouts and everyone else to do is to stop affirming that objective standards of right and wrong exist. By refusing to do so, the Scouts not only annoy Homo-McCarthyists, but also corporate executives who want no moral or even common sense principles to get in the way of corporate expediency.

These firms say they're against "discrimination." Yet they apply the word selectively. If they're really against discrimination, why do at least a couple of them go on supporting the Girl Scouts, who, of course, don't admit boys? They also tell protesting callers they still give to the United Way, and that the United Way in most communities gives to the Boy Scouts. That argument is the smoking evasion. It proves their hypocrisy. If they have a genuine ethical problem with Scout policies, why support Scouting even indirectly? I'd have more respect for them if they weren't so plainly trying to have it both ways. But their funding cutoff isn't about principle, it's about absence of principle. The link bonding this corporate elite to the radical leftists exerting the pressure is their common abhorrence of moral responsibility.

AND MORAL responsibility is exactly what Scouting teaches. Just ask the family of two-year-old April Phillips of Tulsa, Oklahoma, who recently fell in a pond and nearly drowned — until nine-year-old Adam Kiddy, who had just earned his Cub Scout aquanaut badge, jumped in and saved her. "He was pretty brave," said April's great-grandmother. "Other boys would have just stood there." Important executives find it embarrassing that nine-year-old Cub Scouts have more honor and courage than they do.

What now for the Boy Scouts? "The silent majority of this country have been becoming less silent, and we believe will become quite vocal about (these) attempts to manipulate American values," said Buford Hill, Western regional director for the Boy Scouts. This was borne out in the response to a column I wrote about this situation in the *Orange County Register.* I said I was closing my own Wells Fargo accounts in protest and asked readers who had any comments to give me a buzz. A monsoon ensued. My line was jammed for days. Nearly 400 calls came in. An elderly woman who took her (substantial) savings account out of Wells Fargo said she "hadn't had the enjoyment of doing something so right in a long time." An Orange County man said he was "going to close my $10,000-plus Wells Fargo account. I've had the account for four years; I hate to close it, but it's something I have to do."

Rob French, a Stockton businessman, is doing more than just close his Bank of America accounts, where he had nearly $1 million. A local Scouting leader, he'll be taking out half-page ads in area newspapers publicizing what these companies have done. (I switched to Union Bank, by the way, and was pleased to learn they waive service charges on checking accounts for a year if you come from Wells Fargo.)

A Bank of America branch manager in Los Angeles said (on condition of anonymity) that the bigwigs are nervously tabulating all accounts closed in protest, no matter how small. *You* now have a chance to make yourself heard. CPR

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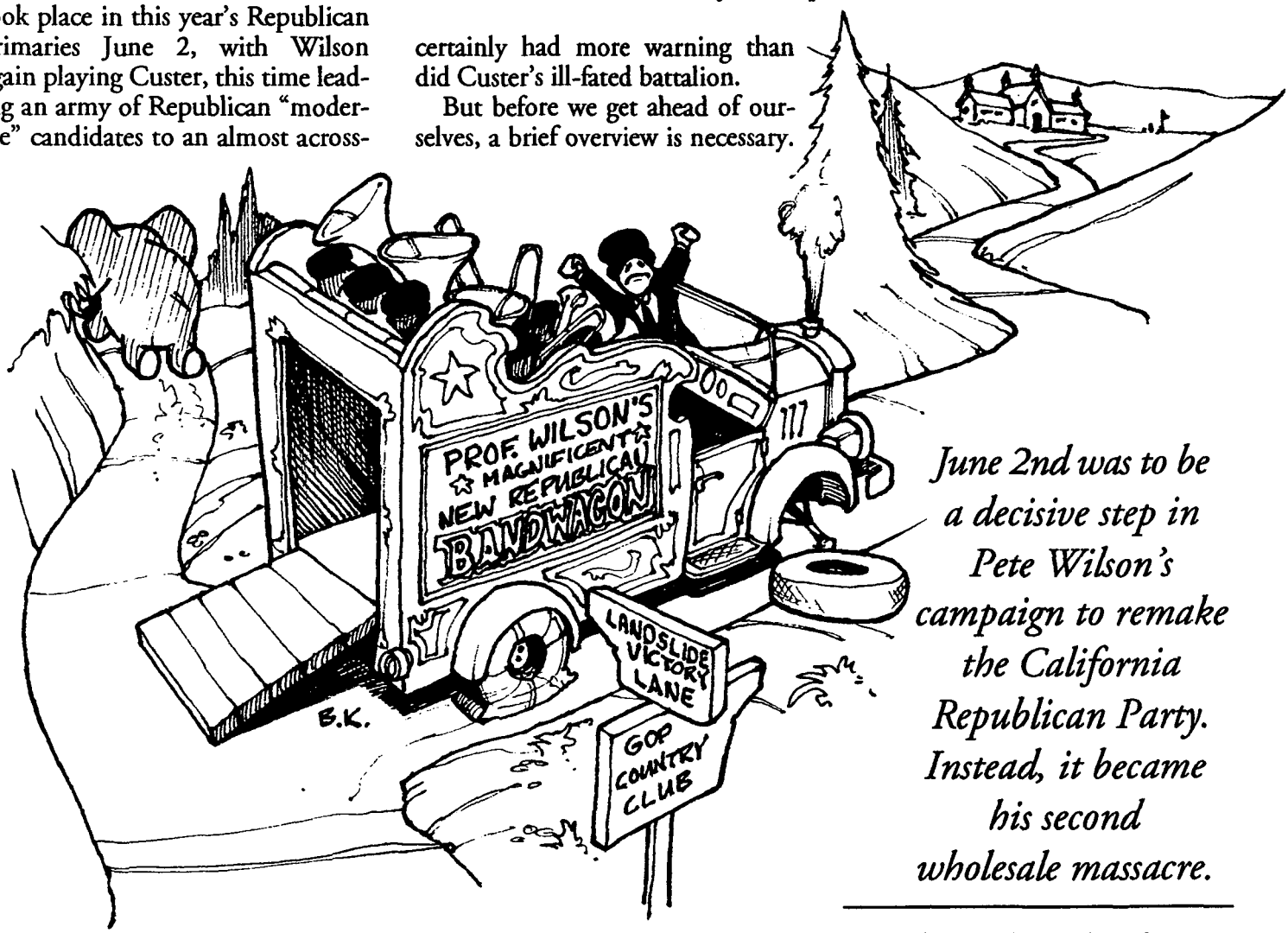
WILSON'S RETURN TO LITTLE BIGHORN

BATTLE FOR THE GOP SOUL

by Christopher Shelton

GOVERNOR PETE WILSON as General George Custer heading for the Little Big Horn graced the cover of last summer's *California Political Review*, introducing an article on the 1991 tax and budget fiasco. (The governor had characterized himself that way in discussing the budget battle on national television.) Another wholesale massacre took place in this year's Republican primaries June 2, with Wilson again playing Custer, this time leading an army of Republican "moderate" candidates to an almost across-the-board defeat. Moved by presidential ambitions and the goading of staffers who see their mission as "remaking" the GOP, Wilson marched to the slaughter he *should* have known full well lay ahead. He certainly had more warning than did Custer's ill-fated battalion.

But before we get ahead of ourselves, a brief overview is necessary.



June 2nd was to be a decisive step in Pete Wilson's campaign to remake the California Republican Party. Instead, it became his second wholesale massacre.

Conservatives and Wilson have always had a tolerate-hate relationship. Sometimes in the past it has been kept under control. Always suspicious of the self-consciously "moderate" assemblyman (and later mayor) from San Diego, conservatives viewed his anti-Reagan hatchet job for Gerald Ford in the New Hampshire primary of 1976 as the last straw.

Politics being transitory, however, Wilson made amends in 1980. He "saw the light" and supported Reagan, even before it became evident that the nomination would be

Christopher Shelton is the pseudonym of a long-time observer of California politics.

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his. Somehow, Reagan the terrible extremist of 1976 had become the statesman and nation's hope of 1980. Only the cynical think political opportunism had anything to do with it. At any rate, by the time Wilson became the Republican nominee for U.S. Senate in 1982 against Jerry Brown, conservatives voted for him without much hesitation. In 1986, Wilson breezed to re-election against Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, and once again conservatives voted for him with little fuss.

As a senator, Wilson's voting record was good on defense matters (California did, after all, receive about 30 percent of every federal defense dollar) but weak on most other things important to traditional conservatives. Still, in Washington, Wilson avoided doing anything that would severely alienate conservatives in the California GOP. He even campaigned occasionally for conservative Republican nominees without suffering any apparent undue discomfort. As the 1990 gubernatorial election approached and Deukmejian unexpectedly announced his retirement, no groundswell of conservative opposition — and no viable conservative alternative candidate — stood in the way of a Wilson candidacy.

WHAT TIPPED the scales decisively in Wilson's favor for many conservatives was the choice that 1990, a reapportionment year, offered them: either another decade of gerrymandered legislative and congressional districts guaranteeing Democrat predominance (which Feinstein's victory would have assured) or eight years of a potentially, but not necessarily, antagonistic Wilson in the governor's office. Conservatives calculated they could survive the worst Wilson *might* throw at them, if it came to that, far better than what they *knew* 10 more years of Willie Brown and David Roberti (or their cloned replacements down the line) would mean. Showing both sound political judgment and an admirable degree of political maturity in resisting the temptation to indulge old animosities, conservatives supported Wilson for governor. And it wasn't just a case of "hold your nose and vote for Pete." The conservative leadership of California went out of its way to keep the troops in line for him.

Conservatives calculated they could survive the worst Wilson might throw at them far better than what they knew 10 more years of Willie Brown and David Roberti (or their cloned replacements down the line) would mean.

Looking back now, it appears that Wilson was making calculations of his own. He plainly thought conservative influence and power within the Republican Party and, thus, in state government, had become inflated out of all proportion with the support conservative positions actually commanded among rank and file GOP voters. He seems to have concluded that a strong, "moderate" Republican governor (himself), enjoying the devoted support of all those moderate Republican voters he so confidently "knew" were out there, would be able to blow away these misguided Neanderthals, "rescuing" the party from them and making it a vehicle for his own vision of "rational," "pragmatic" Republicanism.

Danger signs surfaced almost immediately after Wilson was elected. His appointments to staff the upper levels of his administration in Sacramento were right out of the environmental extremist handbook. Conservatives had little input and even less impact on his appointments. Then, shortly after taking office, Wilson may have let his true feelings show in a moment of pique.

CONFRONTED IN a private meeting by conservative legislators upset at his constant bowing and scraping to the legislative Democrats on budget matters, Wilson huffed that "you conservatives are f***ing irrelevant." Later that year, he tried to prove that true, first by ramming huge tax increases through the Legislature against determined conservative opposition and then by engineering a successful coup against conservative Republican Assembly leader Ross Johnson, replacing him with "moderate" Assemblyman Bill Jones. Two skirmishes to none for Wilson, on the surface anyway. But the real test of whose political calculations were correct came this June, when Wilson returned to Little Big Horn.

In 1992, the Supreme Court's new legislative districts combined with the early effects of term limits

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to create an unprecedented number of open, competitive Assembly districts. A broad range of conservative interests and groups saw this opportunity and started organizing early. The Wilsonites weren't doing much organizing, instead taking great comfort from the steady stream of news and opinion columns congratulating the Republican Party for having "changed" and "grown," moving out of the shadow of the "cavemen" who ran it during the '70s and '80s. (You know the type, the backward Neanderthals who led the GOP to three straight presidential landslide victories.)

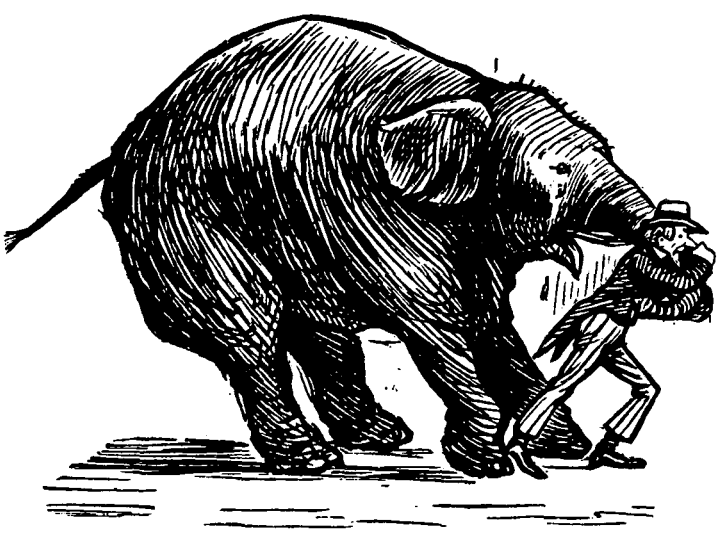
SOMEWHAT BELATEDLY, the governor got busy recruiting Assembly candidates in his own image, working closely with what he presumably considered the Republican "mainstream" — in fact, the most liberal wing of the party (those members who find Danny Ortega more appealing than Jesse Helms and think Molly Yard is a "moderate"). While he was doing this, Wilson said publicly he had "no intention" of meddling in Republican primaries.

The governor was fibbing.

What emerged was a well-orchestrated plan involving the governor and his allies in up to a dozen contested Republican Assembly primaries around the state. Toward the end of the campaign, Wilson dropped the mask, in some cases personally and openly intervening to help favored primary candidates. In other cases — in districts where he didn't want to put himself on the line — he arranged for friendly political committees to act in his place. He spent days on the telephone with major Republican donors attempting to steer contributions to his candidates.

The result of all this effort on June 2 was Wilson's second massacre. By *any* reckoning of the results, conservative candidates won 75 to 80 percent of the races contested head-on with the governor. From Bruce Herschensohn down to local county central committees, conservative candidates — obviously with some exceptions — trounced their "moderate" opposition. The Assembly primaries best illustrate the results of battle.

Conservative interest groups and volunteer organizations worked alongside a hardy band of conservative legislators to field candidates in 13 "open" Assembly districts (districts likely to go Republican in the fall but without a GOP incumbent). In every case, Wilson was also involved, sometimes openly, sometimes with calls to direct money to the "non-conservative" candidate, and, in many cases, through the Wilson-friendly political committees mentioned above. All 13 races involved a crystal-clear ideological dividing line. There could be little doubt in the voters' minds that they were given two distinct and different choices. And in 11 of these 13 races targeted by both sides, the voters chose the clearly conservative, clearly anti-tax candidate over an equally-clearly Wilson-style "moderate."



NOW, IN fairness it must be admitted that conservatives also challenged two incumbent Republican Assembly members — B. T. Collins and Tricia Hunter — who can only be described accurately as mindless Wilson automatons, and both incumbents won. In the Sacramento area, Assemblyman Collins defeated conservative Barbara Alby 51 to 49 percent. Collins — elected last summer with Wilson's direct intervention — this time stayed as far away from the governor as possible. Nowhere in Collins's literature was Wilson's name mentioned.

In fact, Collins, who opposed Proposition 13 and opposed the term limits in Proposition 140, campaigned as a "conservative tax fighter." He even managed to finagle the endorsement of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, which apparently doesn't hold it against a candidate that he actively opposed Howard Jarvis's most important political initiative. At any rate, after outspending Alby by about three-to-one, Collins eked out a 1,300-vote victory.

The other incumbent with serious conservative opposition was Tricia Hunter. Hunter turned in a performance even more lackluster than Collins's. Running against a

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field of three little-known opponents, she managed to win while receiving only 45 percent of the vote.

These two races differed from the 13 discussed above in that the group of conservative legislators, not wanting to oppose their colleagues, did not participate. Also, not all conservative groups opposed Hunter and, in any case, incumbents enjoy all sorts of built-in advantages over challengers. But even adding these two incumbents to the tally of the liberals and the governor still leaves conservatives winning 11 of 15, instead of only 11 of 13. So Wilson prevailed, depending upon which races are counted, either 15 or 27 percent of the time — a disastrous showing, particularly for the governor of a party whose rank-and-file voters traditionally accord their elected leaders, especially chief executives, unshakeable loyalty.

But to read the papers in the days after the primary, you'd have thought that election day had been an unbroken stream of triumphs for Wilsonites and moderates of all stripes. This anti-math logic is accomplished by counting the races where the governor endorsed unopposed or lightly opposed incumbents and "consensus" candidates supported by all factions. The governor's folks can't really be blamed for trying to distort the election results. After all, when you go two for 13 or four for 15, you need to be imaginative with the results.

BUT THE media *can* be blamed for swallowing this pabulum. These are the same reporters and pundits, of course, who almost unanimously predicted a Tom Campbell defeat of Bruce Herschensohn in the Senate race. Combining wishful thinking and a lazy acceptance of conventional wisdom, press bias against all things conservative unmistakably showed itself again.

Several interesting side notes to the Assembly elections further illuminate the extent of the shellacking absorbed by the moderates. For instance, Wilson personally designated four Assembly races as "must win" contests for him. His candidates lost three of them. For three to four weeks before the primary, Wilson personally called members of "Team 100," the group of $100,000 per year GOP donors established to help elect George Bush in 1988 — George's version of populism.

In at least one case I know of, the governor spent a full hour on the phone with one of these "Team 100" donors trying to get contributions. His pitch to these money folks was the critical importance of his four "must win" Assembly races — one in Pasadena, where Bill Hoge beat Wilson's candidate in the 44th Assembly district, and three in San Diego. The "must win" races in Wilson's home county went to Dick Daleke (76th A.D.), Steve Baldwin (77th A.D.), both opposed by the governor, and Jan Goldsmith (75th A.D.), Wilson's sole "must win" victor.

THE CONSERVATIVE, anti-tax legislators sent out campaign mail in six districts specifically making the point that "we voted against last summer's tax increase, we stood up to the tax raisers and said 'no,' but there just aren't enough of us. Please vote for _____." All six of these candidates won, Hoge, Daleke, and Baldwin among them.

In the 67th Assembly District, many of these same legislators signed a letter for Doris Allen on the tax issue, attacking Tom Mays for supporting last summer's tax increases. Mays was the heavy favorite on election day, but Doris Allen won in one of the day's least expected upsets.

Altogether, conservatives won seven of seven contests where voting against Wilson's '91 tax increase was specifically an issue while Wilson candidates lost three

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Thirteen Assembly Races

DISTRICT 3 — Conservative Bernie Richter defeated a large field. The governor actively directed money to *sixth* place finisher Steve Dilg.

DISTRICT 10 — Conservative Larry Bowler defeated a field of five. The candidate of the "non-conservatives," Tony Pescetti, finished *fourth*.

DISTRICT 25 — Conservative Barbara Keating-Edh defeated five other candidates. The CMA gave at least $7,500 to second place finisher Bill Mattos.

DISTRICT 34 — Conservative Kathleen Honeycutt defeated a large field.

DISTRICT 37 — Wilson-endorsed Nao Takasugi defeated conservative Alan Guggenheim.

DISTRICT 44 — Conservative Bill Hoge defeated Wilson "must win" candidate Barbara Pieper.

DISTRICT 53 — Conservative Brad Parton defeated three other candidates. The choice of the organized "non-conservatives" was Dan Walker.

DISTRICT 66 — Conservative Ray Haynes easily finished first in a field of seven.

DISTRICT 68 — Conservative Curt Pringle defeated two other candidates. "Non-conservative" Rhonda McCune finished third.

DISTRICT 73 — Conservative Bill Morrow won and conservative Pat Bates finished a close second in this district.

DISTRICT 75 — Wilson "must-win" candidate Goldsmith defeated conservative Connie Youngkin.

DISTRICT 76 — Conservative Dick Daleke defeated Wilson "must win" choice Ronnie Delaney.

DISTRICT 77 — Conservative Steve Baldwin defeated Wilson "must-win" candidate Greg Cox.

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An Obligation to Educate

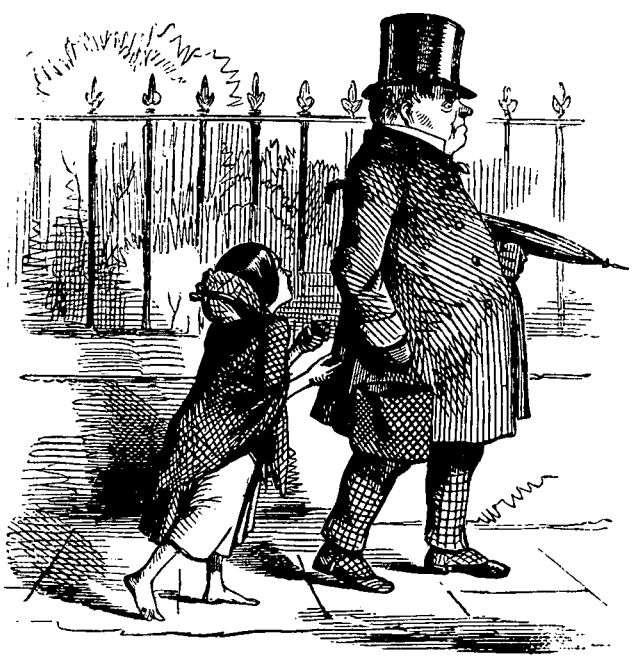
Schools exist to teach. You'd never know it, though, looking at public education, a system run by-and-large for the sake of the people who run it. The kids are often the last people considered.

by William J. Bennett

WHEN I BECAME secretary of education, my wife, who is a teacher, said to me: you're a teacher. You're a professor. As secretary of education, you should go into classrooms and teach the kids. If people actually see you doing it, it will give you much more credibility to comment. And I said rather huffily to Elaine: I am secretary of education. I do not do retail. I do wholesale. And she, as a wise girl and daughter of a businessman, said: *do* retail and you'll do better wholesale. Find out what is going on in there.

So I went to schools. I was on the road every week and ended up visiting about 115 schools: third-grade classes, seventh-grade classes, eleventh-grade classes. I saw all sorts of schools. We tilted toward schools in poor communities, places where not much was supposed to be happening. Sometimes we went to average schools in those communities. Sometimes we went to miraculous places where people were turning things around, like Garfield High School in Los Angeles where Jaime Escalante was teaching. He's gone from Garfield now. This great teacher — the greatest teacher in America, maybe the greatest teacher in the world — is now in Sacramento because the unions couldn't deal with his methods. He had 75 students in his class and some of his colleagues said union rules say you can have only 22.3 students in your class. He said fine, you take some of them and teach them calculus. They said we don't know calculus. He said then get out of my way and let me teach. He was turning these kids out of the East L.A. barrio, sending them to UCLA and Southern Cal and MIT and Cal Tech in record numbers, getting not one cent more than anybody else, and actually getting a lot of heat from the system.

It is encouraging to go to a school like that, where kids who come in with almost nothing leave blessed by their schools, by their teachers, by their principals. They can read. They are interested and want to go on. When you see it actually happening, you are encouraged. You know it's possible. When people say you cannot educate these kids, you know they are wrong. It is being done in American schools, but it is not being done in most American schools.



IT IS *discouraging* to go then into schools with essentially the same kids, in the same kind of neighborhoods, and see lousy education going on — to see class after class of kids on their way out of school with a diploma — or without one — on their way into crime, drugs, teen-age pregnancy, and wasted lives. If you thought this was a matter of pre-determined reality, that if you were born a certain way or a certain color or a certain class that that's just the way it has to be, you might have a sort of stoic resignation about it. But when you see that

William J. Bennett served as U.S. Secretary of Education from 1985 until 1988. He delivered these remarks at a meeting of the American Forum in Los Angeles April 9.

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kids *can* learn, that schools can make a mighty and dramatic difference in their lives, then you get angry about it.

THAT'S WHY, as secretary of education, I became a revolutionary. I argued for choice: for giving parents the kind of say they should have in the education of their children by letting them go to the schools that are doing a good job and leave the schools that are doing a bad job. That ability to choose puts the welfare of the students first in a system that now runs by-and-large for the sake of the people who run it rather than for the kids.

I saw this dramatically illustrated more than once while I was education secretary. In 1986, California's Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig was in my office at the Department of Education with Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. I had been pushing hard for choice and Honig said to me: give us five more years. If we don't dramatically improve education in five more years, I will be up in front of the parade with you arguing for choice. Well, the five years have passed and I have never heard from Honig, and California has not set records for educational achievement.

Honig said: give us five years. If we don't dramatically improve education, I will be up in front with you arguing for choice. Well, the five years have passed. I have not heard from Honig, and California has not set records for educational achievement.

I visited a school in Chicago that had a 98 percent drop-out rate. There were hardly any students there at all, but they had a full-time teaching faculty. They had the announcements on every day, even though there was nobody to hear them. This is a bureaucracy gone insane; it was just madness.

And it is not at all unusual. Arlington County, Virginia, just across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C., at one point decided to establish a new elementary school. They wanted to be innovative, so they established something called an "Innovative Skills School." They said they were going to emphasize reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Innovative! A breakthrough!

WELL, THEY said, if you live in this county, and you want your elementary school child to learn a lot about reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, send your child to this school. If you don't, apply to one of the two other schools. Eighty-five percent of the parents applied to that school. Arlington County, by the way, includes dozens of ethnic groups. All the parents, of all the groups, wanted the same kind of education.

So they had 85 percent of the applications at one of the three elementary schools. What did they do? Did they say: 85 percent of the parents want this; we really ought to convert the other schools? No. Instead, they abolished the program. It was too disruptive. It was drawing people away from the other schools. It was drawing people away because it had something sensible to offer. This is where a little market discipline might help.

I talked to a deputy superintendent out there while the program was still going on. He said, well, we'll just take the first 33 percent that apply. I said, that's good, as an interim measure, and then next year you will respond more to what parents want.

HE SAID no, we'll keep the other schools and just keep this one as it is. I asked, why not give the people what they want, particularly when what they want is sensible? He said, well, we want diversity. I said, I see: you want a third of your students to be able to read and write and two-thirds to be unable to do so. He said, that's not very funny. Then he used the locution that really sends my temperature up. He said, these are *our* schools. I said, no, they're not. They're *their* schools. They're paying for the schools; they bought them. Give them what they want. As I said, they went on to abolish the program.

The system is run by-and-large for the sake of the people who run it rather than for the kids. The kids are often the last people to be considered. The results bear this out:

The most recent international comparison tests in math and science — involving 12 countries — show our kids coming in last. (Kids from South Korea came in first.) At the end of the test, the students were asked a final question: how do you feel about your knowledge of math? *There* we came in first. (South Korean kids came in last.) What do you know? Not much. How do

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you feel about it? Feel okay, I'm all right; I've got Walkman, I've got the mall, I'm all set. Let's go.

ANOTHER SERIOUS problem is the politicization of curriculum selection, textbook selection, and even of school board meetings. There is a big push for political correctness. You cannot say anything in a classroom that might offend any person on any day on any given subject. For instance, in reading textbooks while I was education secretary, I found that they had absolutely sanitized the teaching of American history. The texts contained no reference to religion — *none.* When they quoted the Declaration of Independence, they did not quote the "offensive" part, which was: created equal — a fairly significant part of the Declaration, I think. Also one textbook said: Pilgrims were very important people to America. Pilgrims were people who took long trips. And I thought, wasn't there more to it than that? Wasn't there something about religious liberty?

Shortly after that, I went to a school in New Orleans and I asked the third graders, "who were the Pilgrims?" A little girl stood up and said, "Pilgrims were people who took long trips ... seeking religious freedom..." I said, "good." But she wasn't finished. "— and settled in America so their teachers could organize collectively and bargain for better wages." The teacher was properly embarrassed.

What I think is a misreading of the Constitution in Supreme Court decisions has led many of the public schools to think that they cannot say anything at all about religion, that they cannot refer to the religious backgrounds of the students, and even that they have to be absolutely neutral on all questions. There was that absurd example that Ronald Reagan talked about involving the girl in New York who came into the classroom and said that she found a purse with $1,000 and returned it to the owner. The other kids in her 10th grade class made fun of her. They said, you dope, that was really stupid. Why didn't you keep the money? When she turned to the teacher for help, the teacher said, well, as the teacher, I would say you're all entitled to your opinion.

This led to a considerable public debate which, in turn, led to the school board saying that the teacher was absolutely right: that teachers can't take a position on such things. People see that and say: this is a desert. Children need to be encouraged in the right direction. If these people can't or won't tell the difference between right and wrong, I want something else.

When I was at Chapel Hill in North Carolina, before becoming education secretary, I met a young university couple — a yuppie couple — in their late 20s or early 30s. We began talking about schools. I asked them where their children went to school. They said, Catholic school. I said, are you Catholics? They said, oh no, we're atheists. I asked why they wanted to send their kids to Catholic schools. They said, well, we want them to hear those arguments and we don't know how to make them. We believe what we believe. But we're not so sure our lives have worked out as well as they might have. We'd like our kids to be exposed to something else.

IT WAS interesting and thoughtful and in some ways generous, I thought, on the part of these parents. A lot of parents *want* their kids to be exposed to the teaching of ethics, and I think they should have that opportunity. I want the arbiter of what the children hear, in the first instance, to be the person who has the most interest in that child: the parent. We need to give parents the power of choice. The schools will have to compete for the parents' attention and for their money because students will be walking around with scholarships in their pockets and schools will want to attract them. The result? The schools will have to be good because word will get out where the good schools are and that's where people will want to go.

Choice is also the answer to the vice-like control un-

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Goodbye, California

A recently departed Californio reflects on how his former state has done itself in: pandering to interest groups, giving itself over to factions, all with the surrealistic goal of creating a utopia.

by James L. Schefter

GOODBYE, CALIFORNIA, your dream is done.

It's not that I didn't give you a shot. Fifteen years is a fair chunk of my life. But now anyone with eyes can see that this City of Angels is well down the path to becoming the West Coast Philadelphia, and this once-Golden State is so far gone to economic and social disaster that its fate is sealed. What is true of Los Angeles is true of California.

Los Angeles is a city that doesn't work, a city that depleted its treasures by trying to be all things to all people, then squandering the rest by turning itself over to the narrow passions of a shrill few. As Los Angeles degenerates — and who would argue that it isn't, almost daily, becoming a worse place to live? — it is sinking the region, and the state is not far behind. I will not sink with it.

When you declared war on the middle class, California, you doomed yourself. When you handed the bureaucracy over to selfish interests and the government to factions that shamelessly pander to every interest group, all with the surrealistic goal of creating a utopia, you did yourself in. California cannot survive without an economically strong, socially happy, educationally sound middle class. None of those conditions exist today. And they will not return, despite the wishful forecasts of economists. Economic recovery is not in California's foreseeable future. Period.

Los Angeles is riddled with incurable diseases and the state is infected.

The Los Angeles problem has too many facets. The salad bowl is one of them. I shouldn't have to learn 77 different languages in order to enjoy the standard of verbal and written communication that I once took for granted. I should not have to pay for every ethnic and nationalistic folk in the world to take up residence here while maintaining their separate old-country values and languages.

There's great value in preserving heritage, keeping it safe and secure and remembered. There's also great wisdom in the adage "When in Rome..." The price of living here should include a strong dose of linguistic and cultural conformity. It doesn't and that's socially wrong and economically destructive.

The good life I want should offer a sharing and merging of cultural and social values, a concept now disdained by Southern California advocates of salad-bowl-not-melting-pot tribalism. But where in the history of the world have tribes lived together for any significant time without merging in the melting pot or warring for supremacy? Not here. Not anywhere.

Commonality is a foundation of the good life in society. Diversity is welcome, but not at the absolute expense of commonality, only as an adjunct to it.

THROUGHOUT HISTORY, the social contract has included a common language. A common means of communication doesn't eliminate true multi-cultural opportunities to enjoy and learn. But here in Southern California we endure a Topsy-like Balkanization with its rigid enclave-barrio-ghetto-Little This and Little That evasions and escapes and walls. Good fences may good neighbors make. But walls create suspicion. Walls create fear. Walls separate.

Congestion is another problem. So long as we try to provide, with little or no cost to the user, goods and services pegged to an absurdly unachievable standard, then

James L. Schefter is a professional writer. He moved out of California this spring.

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why shouldn't a flood of humanity wash over open national borders and crowd into Southern California? For the protection of ourselves and our inheritors, we should move back toward a more limited philosophy of caring. I have zero confidence that such a move will occur in Southern California, not until a critical mass of life is reached here and the community implodes. That will happen. I'll watch it from afar.

I am not selfish or heartless. I happily accept responsibility as my brother's keeper. But only in the most dire of circumstances am I *your* brother's keeper. I will rescue your brother from imminent bodily danger and provide trauma care. I will help provide for him, in perpetuity if necessary, when his mental or physical disabilities severely impair him. But when his problem is bad luck, or lack of motivation, or adherence to a different cultural standard, or even victimization by some real or imaginary social ill, I cannot provide for his every need, from food to clothing to medicine to shelter, except for the briefest of periods.

SOCIETY IS not perfect; it will create a few victims even as it smiles on the vast majority. Your brother is your responsibility; even better, he is his own responsibility. Hunger and discomfort have always been marvelous progenitors of productivity. So it should be still.

The environment of Southern California is another problem. Not that it is so bad — it isn't — but that the misinformed are flocking behind the misguided in a futile attempt to make the air and water conform to some mythically-inspired notion of good. Apocalyptic environmentalists have succeeded in making the masses forget the lessons of Chicken Little, at enormous and wasteful cost in dollars and jobs. They spread their dogma by preying on fear, by distorting truth, by outright lies, and by simply bad science. They take a nugget of truth and twist it to fan hysteria. They are wrong.

YES, CALIFORNIA, there's more to quality of life than mountain-clear air and a sort of nice climate. But so far has the pendulum swung that the other components of a nice life are dismissed from the equations of apocalypse. I embrace what they ignore.

My environmental equation includes jobs and careers, but both are fleeing California under the onslaught of regulations and taxes.

My equation includes such little niceties as neighborhood dry cleaners, quick and economical. They're disappearing.

My equation includes paint that survives the heat and humidity of a bathroom. But such paint is banned in Southern California and my bathroom walls peel and bubble.

My equation includes gas stations — themselves an endangered species — where the mandated pump flow rate doesn't inflict boredom while your tank slowly fills and where the silly rules about spills and leaks are destroying small businesses in the name of protecting the public from a health hazard that does not exist.

My equation includes a strong dose of cost-effectiveness and a reasonable acceptance of risk. If the price of progress and comfort for the masses is accepting a one-in-a-million chance of cancer, so be it. I take much greater risks every time I drive my car.

Except for the last, such points are the tip of the environmental scourge. In the grander scheme of things, they are nitpicks. But they are nitpicks upon which the regulators have focused, nitpicks wherein some faceless and self-important user of power is intruding into the fabric of my life.

POWER CORRUPTS. All-powerful regulators are inflicting incalculable expense on businesses and individuals, heaping inconvenience into our daily lives, nibbling and nitpicking at our lifestyles, all in the name of clean air that never existed here in the first place. Do the mavens of the environment know that Cabrillo looked out at the empty countryside, dotted only with a few Indian villages, after he dropped anchor at San Pedro in the sixteenth century and immediately named this region the Valley of Smokes? If the Los Angeles basin air was

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With Reagan

AN INTERVIEW WITH ED MEESE

FOR THOSE who lived through them, the Ronald Reagan presidential years — the now-dreaded 1980s — seem almost unrecognizable in the lurid distortions of them conjured up by establishment revisionists in politics and the media whose meager faith — liberalism — they shook so badly. And the fiascos of Jimmy Carter's reign are all but forgotten, the contrast they make with the record of his successor being too painful to bear for so many. Edwin Meese III's new book, *With Reagan**, restores some perspective. Having served the 40th president from his days as California governor through two terms in the White House as Reagan's highest-ranking political confidant, Meese hasn't forgotten what actually happened. *CPR* discussed the book with him recently.

California Political Review: Why another book on Ronald Reagan?
Meese: I was tired of reading a lot of the books that have been written and a lot of the conventional wisdom in the news media which essentially holds that Ronald Reagan slept through eight years, waking up only occasionally to do something bad. Nobody had covered things like: how decisions were made, what the president's role really was and, in many instances, the results of the decisions — results that were good for the country and good for the world. So, at the request of the publishers, I decided to write a book to set the record straight.

CPR: With regard to those publishers: originally a New York publisher signed a contract with you but then backed off. So the book was eventually published by Regnery Gateway, correct?
Meese: I had a contract originally to write the book but when I got into it with the publisher and the editor, it turned out they wanted a lot of spectacular exposés. It was obviously not the kind of book that would tell the true story so, by mutual agreement, we let that contract lapse. Then the Regnery publishers came to me and asked if I would do a book that would be an accurate reflection of the Reagan years.

CPR: It sounds as though the first publishers just wanted one more exercise in Reagan bashing.
Meese: That's right and they kept saying we need something *new* to sell the book.

CPR: How about the truth? Did that strike them as novel?
Meese: That didn't seem to interest them.

CPR: The book is primarily about the Reagan presidency but also covers Reagan's time as California governor. What were some of the high and low points of your experiences with Ronald Reagan in California?
Meese: One major accomplishment — there were several — was putting the state back on a more business-like basis. He took over from a governor who left a heavy deficit. By law California can't have a deficit so it had to be made up the first year. He did it partially by reducing expenditures. He brought in the business task forces that went into every department and found efficiencies and ways to improve service and at the same time save money.

Also, unfortunately, he had to raise taxes. But he vowed that if there was any way, through what we called "cut, squeeze, and trim," that we could reduce future expenditures enough, he would give the tax money back. And, of course, I think there were three or four tax refunds while he was in office.

Another accomplishment was a major welfare reform for California. It both increased the grants to the truly needy and cut a lot of undeserving people off the rolls. Our success in California also was one of the primary factors in stopping the so-called FAP program — the Family Assistance Plan, which the Nixon administration

**With Reagan, The Inside Story*, by Edwin Meese III, Regnery Gateway, 1992, 362 pages, $24.95, cloth.

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was pushing at the time. FAP would have federalized most aspects of welfare, established a guaranteed annual income, and increased the costs of welfare nationwide. The success of the Reagan program in California derailed FAP by proving that welfare could be handled at the state level.

CPR: You write in the book: "I've alluded to our naïveté about the tremendous thrust of federal spending .... Related to this, on my part as well as the president's, was the assumption that everyone on the Reagan team had a similar view of the problems we faced and a similar commitment to solve them, whatever the difficulties....as later became apparent, various members of the team thought otherwise." Was this naïveté a result of how smoothly everyone had seemed to work together in Sacramento?

Meese: Yes. In Sacramento there was a greater sense of teamwork among the players — the Cabinet, the governor's staff, the department heads — whereas in Washington more people came into the administration who were part of the political establishment. There were an awful lot of *good* people in Washington. Don't mistake me. But at the same time, for others, getting along with Congress and the establishment was more important than challenging them.

CPR: It is something of a continuing theme of your book — Reagan's two-front war, so to speak. Besides opposition from the Democrats, the president seems to have been under almost constant attack by members of his own team: from John Sears, for instance, who tried to force you and the other conservatives out of the 1980 campaign, or Richard Darman, David Stockman, and others who seemed determined to undermine or reverse much of what Reagan tried to do, including many of what later were hailed as his proudest accomplishments. From such petty intrigues as trying to keep the newspaper Human Events *out of the president's hands to such overt treachery as leaking sensitive information designed to torpedo Reagan political and policy initiatives, their disloyalty seems to have been evident. Why did Reagan allow this sort of thing to go on? Why weren't these people fired?*

Meese: He is a very patient guy, and in one case of course — Stockman's — he came very near to letting him go. There were those within the administration who argued that Stockman ought to stay, that he had made his mistake but that he was sorry for it. In the case of Darman, he is still subverting the present administration.

In one case of course —Stockman's — he came very near to letting him go . . . . In the case of Darman, he is still subverting the present administration.

CPR: He must be the ultimate survivor.

Meese: It is awfully hard to get the goods definitely on these people. A lot of this came out afterwards through interviews that they and others gave to people writing about the administration. While the administration is in office and pursuing its objectives, your energies and attention can't be diverted toward trying to get the goods on somebody else within the administration, which, as I say, is almost impossible to do with regard to leaks and things like that. I *do* think we did better in California in the governor's staff and top officials than we did in Washington. That's part of the Washington game.

CPR: The 1980s are continually labeled the "decade of greed" with huge deficits, neglect of the needy, and windfalls for the rich — all attributed to Reagan. What do you say to that?

Meese: First of all, the idea that it was the decade of greed is more than rebutted by the fact that philanthropy increased more than at any time in recent history becoming nearly twice as great as it had been during the previous 25 years. More people began giving because of the president's encouragement of volunteer organizations through, for instance, his Private Sector Initiative. In addition, government aid to the needy was not decreased. It went up every year alongside the volunteer programs.

Some programs that were not working were trimmed or eliminated entirely. But the basic programs — Aid to Families with Dependent Children, housing aid, educational assistance, women and infant food assistance, food stamps — all went up steadily during this period. Also, every segment of the economy improved — each segment increased its standard of living. Average after-tax income in constant dollars went up continually during the time the Reagan economic program was in effect.

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CPR: The foreign policy criticism most often raised — something that resonated with conservatives — was the appearance that we were bargaining with terrorists and trading arms to, of all places, Iran, a terrorist state and an enemy. It seemed a betrayal of Reagan's first principles. How do you answer that?
Meese: Basically, the book sets forth all the facts. I devoted a large section to this issue because it was such an important part of the Reagan history — important in the sense that it got a lot of attention. In terms of its lasting significance, it was probably much *less* important than the other things the president did — revitalizing the economy, rebuilding defense, and the decisive victory over communism.

CPR: But perhaps it took on so much significance because it was a little like George Bush breaking his no new taxes promise. Reagan seemed to be betraying, on a fundamental point, the trust his supporters had placed in him.
Meese: That is refuted in the book. For one thing, we were *not* conceding to the hostage-takers. We *were* trying to open up a new channel of communications with what were represented as moderate elements in Iran. Interestingly enough, these are the same people our government is dealing with today on a regular basis. The idea was to try to establish a different approach to Iran, one that would be effective when the Ayatollah died or if another government supplanted him. This was a legitimate undertaking. The weapons were a very small part of the whole initiative — very small quantities of defensive weapons included to show good faith and assist these moderates in trying to get a foothold within their government. At no time did we deal with the hostage-takers themselves. The Iranians were not the hostage-takers. This was, in effect, an effort to enlist a third party to use their influence to help us get the hostages back. It was also three other efforts: one to develop new communications, a second to bring an end to the Iran-Iraq war, and third, to *decrease* or eliminate Iranian participation in terrorism. All these involved better communications.

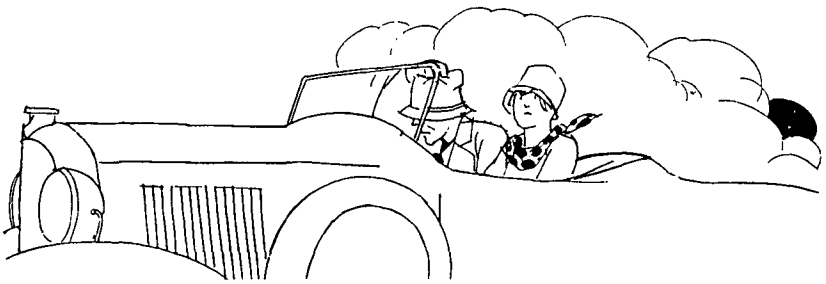
CPR: The book brings back strikingly just how bad things were when Jimmy Carter left office — that, for instance, our government had virtually switched sides in the battle over whether communism or democracy should prevail in Central America and the Caribbean. Have people forgotten what it was like under Carter?
Meese: Somewhat. I think there are two aspects to it. One is that people have forgotten the malaise syndrome Carter represented: the sense that democracy and freedom had peaked and that the totalitarian governments led by the Soviets and socialism were the wave of the future. People also forget that we had 21 percent interest rates, 12.5 percent inflation, and an unemployment rate of 7.5 percent and rising. The Reagan economic program extricated us from all that and gave us seven years of unparalleled peacetime prosperity.

The other aspect was the world front. We were not regarded as a reliable ally because of our military deterioration under Carter in contrast to the Soviet military buildup. The Soviet Union had moved aggressively throughout the world: in Angola, Afghanistan, and Central America. A lot has been forgotten because the president rebuilt our military, provided assistance to freedom fighters throughout the world, and re-established the policy of containment. The Soviet Empire did *not* expand while he was in office. In fact, as we know, a short time later the whole regime collapsed.

CPR: When Reagan said in 1983 that communism's "last pages are even now being written," do you think that even he or anyone in the administration realized just how rapidly the Soviet empire would vanish?
Meese: No. The president particularly understood that communism and the Soviet Union held the seeds of their own destruction but, as optimistic as he was, he didn't foresee how quickly it would come tumbling down once we pursued our initiatives. Outwardly, it *looked* strong and, prior to Ronald Reagan, no one had mounted a carefully thought out resistance.

CPR: Looking back over Reagan's entire career, what is your perspective now?
Meese: There are several things to reflect upon. First, I think we make a mistake when, as a country, we try to cut corners with the Constitution. That's why, for instance, it's important that the independent counsel be eliminated. Second, a president should consider the like-

(Please turn to page 36)



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Criticus

Pearblossom II: Requiem for a Fräulein

G.B. Tennyson

ALAS, MY fears have been realized: "Fraulein's" is no more. For more than a year the signs still stood as you approached Pearblossom from the west: "German Food — One-Half Mile — FRAULEIN'S." (No umlaut over the A to confuse the monolingual, though I shall use it hereafter when referring to the person.) The writing was in black on a yellow background, all edged in red, a foretaste of the restaurant itself. This structure was apparently designed to look like a chalet, a sharply peak-roofed building, with overhanging scalloped edges on the front of the gables, a cross between Zermatt and Hänsel and Gretel, but all of it exceedingly small and merely the front extension or add-on of a larger structure in the back that evidently served as dwelling house for the proprietress.

The gables, scallops, and the wooden edging round the building were in the same solid red that outlined the road signs and the rest of the cottage was in the same vivid yellow that formed the basic color, while the name was in stark black. Perhaps Fräulein was seeking to capture the mustard, red, and black of the German flag, a gesture that would surely be lost on most passers-by in the Mojave. Nor would they be likely to fall into the trap of thinking it the colors of the Belgian flag, which, absurdly, they also are (why couldn't a resurgent Germany have had the guts to go for the good old red, white, and black of more uncompromising memory, which was after all nothing more than the ancient colors of the German merchant marine?). Moreover, in the desert landscape, yellow, red, and black looked even more bi-zarre than the De-Zert Bi-Zarre back down the road which constant readers will recall from the previous installment as the gateway to Littlerock.

But yellow and red with touches of black Fraulein's was and remained, even during the more than

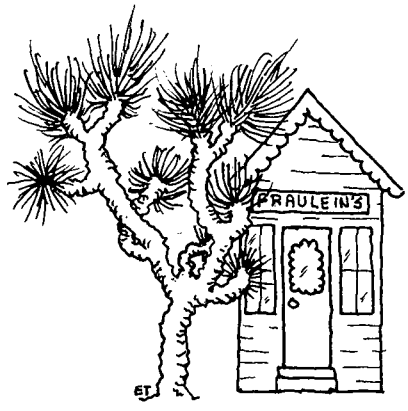

Illustration by Elizabeth Tennyson

a year that the "CLOSED" sign stood in the window at all hours. What had happened, one wondered. Perhaps Fräulein was on an extended trip back to the Fatherland, though surely not for any gastronomic purpose, judging from the fare she served in the past.

Now, truth to tell, I was only in Fraulein's once, but it was a revelation, albeit one having little to do with gastronomy. Rather less than the former Valley Hungarian Sausage and Meat Co. did Fräulein strive to capture the glories of German cookery. True, she offered a knackwurst here, a bratwurst there, a bit of German potato salad on the other hand, but the beer was Budweiser, the soft drinks bubbled from the usual dispensers, and the bread and rolls came from standard packaged goods, as I suspect did even the wurst itself. The menu also contained some of the standard and less challenging Pearblossom Highway staples such as hamburgers and fries.

But then there was the decor. It defied description. It was certainly what Baedeker would have honored with the notation "*es lohnt sich der Umweg*," or, Englished, "worth the detour," not that there would be much detour if one were already on the incomparable Pearblossom, so perhaps we should say, "*es lohnt sich der Aufenthalt*," which we can loosely render as "worth stopping for."

For, you see, Fraulein's was extraordinarily small. Perhaps four tables altogether. As you entered there were three such small, square, dark, wooden tables lined up on the right-hand side with four chairs each, one such table on the left, the rest of that left side occupied by a longish, cluttered counter, behind all of which loomed Fräulein herself. The entire room was not more than twice as large as your average apartment kitchen. With an endearing bluntness Fräulein had designated the single left-hand table at the front with a crude, hand-lettered sign as "Smoking Area." It was perhaps three feet from the closest non-smoking area and perhaps 12 from the farthest.

BUT ALL this was as nothing, indeed less than nothing, when compared to the *Kitsch* that Fräulein saw fit to distribute any and everywhere about the room, especially on the counter side. Now, it is a truism that *mitteleuropäische Gemütlichkeit* (middle-European friendly comfort) often extends to

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an overdecoration that would send a Le Corbusier to an early (though to my mind never too early) grave. It runs to rows of beer steins — some of gargantuan proportions and medieval complexity of inscription that enshrine homely wisdom: *ein froher Sinn bringt viel Gewinn* (cheerfulness brings riches) — to shellacked, wavy-edged wooden plaques with other equally wise sayings or quotations incised in black on a caramel-colored background, to antlers of every conceivable mountain ruminant, to satin sashes commemorating sing-fests or beer-drinking contests, and in Alpine regions to cow bells (the official instrument of the Swiss national ski team, by the way; listen at the next Olympics and you'll hear them clanging above the shouts of "Hup! Hup! Hup!") — in short to excess rather than restraint.

AH, BUT Fräulein was able to join to all these time-honored ingredients yet more excess that gave her restaurant a true local habitation and a name: paintings of mountain scenes of inexpressible ineptitude, model airplanes from previous wars, toy cars, glasses with small flags of

WATCHED WORDS

The Revenge of the PIPs

AS COUNSELLED in the First Lesson ("Watchful Words: PCPs vs. PIPs," *CPR*, Spring 1992), Politically Incorrect Persons (PIPs) must pay for their linguistic liberty with eternal vigilance. You were exhorted on the one hand to be ever on guard against the dreaded *-ism* coinages of Politically Correct Persons (PCPs), such as the ubiquitous *racism* and *sexism*, to say nothing of their numberless offspring, and to flee such terms as the very Devil. You were further advised by way of retaliation to create your own Politically Incorrect -ism words, with some start-up examples offered, such as *minorityism, homelessism, taxism.*

But if all of the foregoing is too strenuous for those of you who have other things to do in life, you can at least amuse yourselves with the latest published entry into this increasingly daffy conflict, a work destined to hit the best seller lists, I shouldn't wonder. Though shelved in your local bookstore under "Humor," *The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook*, by Henry Beard and Christopher Cerf (New York: Villard Books, 1992), is underneath all its exterior levity almost as serious as Criticus's own heroic struggles against language fascism.

To be sure, Beard and Cerf present their findings in a jocular way, complete with light-hearted drawings, photos, and comic examples. They also cloud the issue by including sections on governmental and bureaucratic doublespeak, a true language horror, yes, but ultimately different in kind from politically correct speech and one that serves here only to trivialize the whole issue further.

Innocent Faculty

AFTER ALL, faculty in college classrooms are not insisting that students use bureaucratic doublespeak (e.g., "friendly fire," or "service a target"), whereas innocent faculty now regularly receive papers by writers of all genders that ritually use "s/he" as the standard pronoun of reference and employ phrases like "hegemonic patriarchy" as though they conveyed real thought. This kind of thing is what the Beard and Cerf *Dictionary* is instructive in exposing and on its serious side does expose.

That serious side shows through not only in the citations themselves but in the extraordinary footnotes that appear at the end of the volume, extraordinary in that they give actual sources for virtually all the terms listed in the body of the book.

Real People

THIS MEANS that real people have used and advocated terms like "femhole" for manhole, "gingerbread person" for guess what, "melanin impoverished" for white, "nondiscretionary fragrance" for body odor, "sex care provider" for prostitute, "vocally challenged" for mute, and the many others that this collection enshrines for our bemusement. For all the derision that the actual entries inspire in any sane mind, the footnotes serve the worthy purpose of showing how far the rot has spread and where the stench is coming from.

Curiously, one of the few PC words that the editors fail to include is one that castigates the sin of which they themselves are guilty, as is sometimes your very own Criticus. It is "laughism," the PC word for "inappropriate laughter," as for example when one laughs at PC words. Beard and Cerf do correctly note that the term "politically correct" is itself no longer politically correct, it having been co-opted by the white, male power structure as a way of opposing — what else? — political correctness.

— *Criticus*

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all nations from Iceland to Israel, pretend stained glass made by pasting colored patches of paper on regular glass, dolls in who knows what native costume, tiny cups and saucers and miscellaneous dishes with gold edging, cheap China Dresden shepherdesses forming bases of small pink-shaded, fringed boudoir lamps, gewgaws of dubious provenance hanging from the ceiling, primeval candies and marzipan under glass on the counter: a gallery, an agglomeration, a bizarrerie, a wonderment.

The scene could have come out of an old western or better yet from Bagdad Cafe, *with Fräulein as Marianne Sägebrecht and the varmint as Jack Palance.*

ON THAT one previous visit of mine about two or three years ago I had the opportunity of encountering and observing Fräulein herself. An ample, no-nonsense woman, reserving all her fantasy, I suppose, for her interior decoration. It was a midday in a midweek and only one other customer was in the restaurant. He appeared to be a grizzled desert varmint type, but was evidently not from the immediate area, since it was clear he had not patronized Fraulein's before, for he peppered her with questions no local would have ventured upon. The scene could have come out of an old western or better yet from *Bagdad Cafe*, with Fräulein as Marianne Sägebrecht and the varmint as Jack Palance:

Varmint: "So you must be this here Frowlein."
Fräulein: "Vat if I am?"
Varmint: "Well, I just figured you must be from the name. You German or something?"
Fräulein: "Maybe so, maybe not. Vat do you care?"
Varmint: "Well, I mean, how'd ya get out here in a place like this?"
Fräulein: "Dis is my place. I run it."
Varmint: "Yeah, but how'd ya get out here? I bet you was a war bride. Was ya?"
Fräulein: "Whose business is dat?"
Varmint: "I just wanted to know. I was just guessin'."
Fräulein: "Vell, da var vas a long time ago anyvay. You vant to order, or you just vant to talk?"

Varmint ordered. I kept silent. Match to Fräulein by a knockout. Still, Varmint had scored a point or two. What *was* Fräulein's story? How had she come to be there? Did she socialize with the Valley Hungarians? Could I perhaps find out by a more subtle approach on a future visit?

But not long after that the closed sign went up and stayed up. Then by early March this year the road signs advertising "Fraulein's" had been painted over white, leaving only the black borders. By April the restaurant itself had followed suit and was now white with the scalloped border painted black. More disheartening yet, the road signs now proclaimed "Mexican Food — One-Half Mile — Dino's," and the sign in front of the restaurant read similarly: "DINO'S — Mexican Food." *Dino's?* That popular Mexican name?

UP TO now, Dino's had been a small hamburger stand just a few paces east along the highway from Fraulein's. Obviously Dino had bought out Fräulein. I could not resist a visit. Although the basic interior layout was the same, gone was almost all of the *Kitsch*, save for a lone oil painting of an Alpine scene that was clearly a legacy of happier days with Fräulein, especially since it made the result of a paint-by-the-numbers kit look like the work of Rembrandt. The rest was bare and charmless. To be sure, the person I took to be Dino and the woman I took to be "Mrs. Dino," neither one in the least Mexican in aspect or demeanor, were pleasant enough, as they put forth a menu that offered mostly regular Pearblossom fare along with some tacos and burritos and bowls of salsa on each table. In other words, Fräulein's menu with the German touches turned into Mexican ones.

"What happened to Fräulein?" I asked the Dinos. "Oh," replied Mrs. Dino, "she's been very ill for a long time." A pregnant pause, then, "cancer." "Oh," I said, "then I suppose she'll not be back." "No, certainly not."

I COULDN'T bring myself to order a taco, but the knackwurst was no longer on offer, so I had a standard Pearblossom patty melt.

When I left, I said to the "Dinos," "She wouldn't know me, but tell Fräulein a customer

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asked after her and wished her well." "Yes, we will," they assured me.

And, at the door, for once thinking of the thing I really wanted to say at the time I wanted to say it rather than later, I turned to the new proprietors and said, "You know, it would have been nicer if you had changed the name to 'Señorita's'."

We have come only a few miles farther on from the former Valley Hungarian and now here was the former Fraulein's. The Pearblossom seems to be turning into a Boulevard of Broken Dreams, and we haven't yet reached Llano where those forlorn stone chimneys tell of yet another one. But we're headed that way. CPR

BOOKS

Country Club Pragmatists

The Conservative Crack-Up, by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., Simon & Schuster, 1992, 276 pages, $23, cloth.

Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

ALTHOUGH IT is not true that a committee of arch-liberals from academia, "the arts," politics, and the media meet every Monday morning to coordinate and plot their latest attacks on Ronald Reagan and all conservatives, it often seemed that way a couple of years ago when the bombardment was sustained and intense, as if the entire American left were determined to blot every action of the Reagan administration from the national memory.

It was about that time that Bob Tyrrell, editor-in-chief of *The American Spectator*, the conservative monthly, called to say he was writing a book to be titled *The Conservative Crack-Up*. I was alarmed. A few years earlier he had written *The Liberal Crack-Up*, a devastating and witty analysis of the intellectual and political bankruptcy of the left, and I was afraid he was going to do a sequel which would have the unintended effect of helping the left. I needn't have worried.

While Tyrrell takes a stab at building a case that conservatives had molded a new majority, only to

let it break apart and crumble, the book is really about what he says is a persistent failure in recent years of Republican political leaders and office holders to take advantage of a rich and valuable asset: conservative intellectuals.

He traces the growth of the modern conservative movement as it began to win over converts among older New Deal Democrats and young students, "as Liberalism drifted into unreason, anti-Americanism, and visions of utopia." He also recalls, in detail (much of it fascinating) the journey of the neoconservatives (mostly, but not all, New York intellectuals) from liberalism to the conservative movement. Tyrrell was instrumental in encouraging them to make the political journey but laments that their talents and counsel went virtually unsought during the Reagan years (except for Jeane Kirkpatrick who became Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations).

HE RECOUNTS a luncheon he helped engineer in September 1982 in which several conservative editors and thinkers met with the president and his staff in the cabinet room. "The president's disposition was as sunny as the Rose Garden behind him," he writes, "but the assistant presidents (Reagan's top aides) were apprehensive. They sensed that the arrival of these writers portended a full-scale coup."

Although the luncheon ended with promises to make such gatherings regular events, this was the first and last of them. Tyrrell blames the influence of what he calls the Country Club Republicans (also known as "pragmatists") in the White House. "Serious minds," he says, "recognize the great game of politics as a facet of history, infused with ideas and values, and topped off with interludes of precious comedy. The Country Club Republican has little taste for ideas and values. He perceives politics as a Process.... (How or why items are placed on the agenda is scarcely his concern.)"

Tyrrell recognizes the need for process-oriented people in an administration. He faults them, however, for failing to see the value in supporting and encouraging a sustained intellectual counterforce to the dominant liberalism in the media, academia, and the arts. Had they appreciated this point, he believes, the historical revisionists of the left would not have been nearly so successful as they have been in trying to demolish the accomplishments of the Reagan years.

This is not a latter-day musing;

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Tyrrell talked about it frequently during the Reagan years. In his view, regular and public demonstrations by the White House of its liking for the conservative journals of opinion (his included) would require the major media to pay more attention to them, thus giving conservatism more exposure and, presumably, popularity. Since this did not happen, the nation remains blanketed by what Tyrrell calls "kultursmog," a dense layer of liberal assumptions and predelicitions.

The Conservative Crack-Up is a highly personal memoir, some of it hilarious, some colorful, some tangential to the subject, some a little self-conscious, some of it grumpy — but all of it written in a polished and highly readable style.

By the end of the book, the author is sadder but wiser, realizing that conservatives' and Republicans' distaste for public life is, at root, the reason why after 12 years in the White House, they have not rid the country of liberal *kultursmog.*

Four Trillion and Counting

Mountains of Debt: Crisis and Change in Renaissance Florence, Victorian Britain, and Postwar America, by Michael Veseth, Oxford University Press, 1990, 243 pages, $32.50, cloth.

Reviewed by Fred Quinnelly

DEBT AND deficits are the MEGO (My Eyes Glaze Over) stuff of politics, and none of us wants to read about it. Why bother? Congress spends money like a thief with a hot credit card and we're still here, aren't we? Deficits don't matter, debt doesn't matter, every time we see something good to spend money on we merely increase the National Debt. Four trillion dollars really isn't so much to pay interest on, is it? What could go wrong?

The British public increasingly "invested" in government debt, leaving the private investment market underfinanced. Better-financed American and German private firms eclipsed their British rivals before the end of the century.

What can go wrong is by the end of this decade every dollar collected in tax will be needed to pay interest on The Debt. We won't have money left for luxuries like running the government, which is certainly one way of junking the welfare state and slimming down a bloated bureaucracy. Of course, there is an argument as to whether or not the Debt Monster is real. Economists as varied as liberal Robert Eisner and supply siders Robert J. Barro and Paul Craig Roberts aren't overly worried. But we had better educate ourselves enough to decide the issue, because if we do have a debt crisis it will be ruinous, and unless we demand a solution the venal cowards in Congress will do nothing but compound the damage. Fortunately, we have an excellent book to help us understand what the problem is and maybe show us a way to save ourselves.

Mountains of Debt, by Michael Veseth, professor of economics at the University of Puget Sound, uses the tools of economic history to examine public debt. The book is fascinating for its historical nuggets as well as for the economic insight it provides. A wide range of factors influence an economy, as Veseth shows in a discussion that manages to include Florentine tax cheats, the Black Death, dowries, the South Sea Bubble, the "Odious Tax," and the "myth" of the British Industrial Revolution.

VESETH BEGINS in Renaissance-era Florence, which may have been the first society to get up to its eyeballs in debt. The Florentines managed this feat by inventing an important element of a modern economy: the first "funded public debt," which transferred responsibility for government debt from the prince, who traditionally incurred it as a personal liability, to the people who pay the interest on it via an income tax. Now you know whom to blame. But before you curse Florence consider that societies that have employed the technique of a funded public debt have been the economic giants of their times: Florence, the Dutch Republic, Britain, and the United States.

Historical evidence suggests that public debt contributes to a society's economic success. But it's also possible that public debt precipitates that same economy's decline, and this is what Veseth is concerned about. It may be that public debt is beneficial or neutral until it grows large enough to dominate the economy, but then as it overshadows private productive investment it sends that society into a fiscal crisis.

Fred Quinnelly lives in Anaheim and buys lottery tickets with his Visa card.

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Public debt changes society's economic structure, and its effects cannot be understood without examining the financial arrangements of the private sector. Veseth illustrates how public debt affected the course of Victorian Britain's Industrial Revolution. The British public increasingly "invested" in government debt, leaving the private investment market underfinanced. Better-financed American and German private firms eclipsed their British rivals before the end of the century. Veseth suggests there is a parallel here for America and Japan.

Veseth worries that the American economy has entered the sort of fiscal crisis where paying for The Debt is going to crowd out every other issue. The growth rate of the national debt has been without historical precedent, and when the hard choices start getting our attention we're likely to be transfixed like deer in the headlights.

Is the future hopeless? Should we drink hemlock? Maybe, but on the hopeful side Veseth outlines a plan for saving ourselves before the Dark Age descends, though we should have started yesterday. Veseth's plan includes tax reform, education reform, and deficit reduction. He forgot to mention nuking Washington, D.C. CPR

Popular Culture

Love in a Time of Kahlo

Hollywood's Latest Political Obsession

T.R. O'Neill-Lopez

THE ADS would doubtless be appealing: "Desert Storm," (teaser: "This Time We Get to Win") starring Brian Dennehy as General Norman Schwarzkopf, Charlton Heston as George Bush, Omar Sharif as Saddam Hussein, Ed Asner as Yasser Arafat, Danny DeVito as King Hussein, and Anthony Hopkins as Peter Arnet. The Allied forces would be the Family of Man: Brits, Yanks, Frenchies, Italians, Arabs — finally portrayed in a positive light. Based on the success of "Rambo" and "Top Gun," revenues for this film might be substantial. And the war-toy options? We're talking mega-bucks here.

Those who expect an avalanche of such films can rest easy. Though movies have become little more than filmed deals, Hollywood's heart is not always in its wallet. At this writing, there is not a single major movie in progress about the Gulf War.

For many Hollywood heavyweights, America is, in Oliver Stone's phrase, a "fascist security state." The day after the U.S. victory in the Gulf, when most of the nation was celebrating, Kris Kristofferson appeared at a fund raising event for the Hollywood Policy Center. He told the illustrious crowd that the U.S. government was "just like Nazi Germany" and that George Bush and his advisers were the "party of death." The remarks touched off a rousing ovation.

The glitterati want to make films of a different type, whether or not they will turn a profit. For example, there are currently four projects in the works about Frida Kahlo. One of them will star Madonna and be directed by Robert DeNiro. Who is Frida Kahlo, you may ask, and why should she be of interest to filmmakers? The answers to those questions indicate the abyss separating film industry culture from the culture of the American people.

BORN IN Mexico in 1907, Frida Kahlo was a talented artist who overcame considerable pain and suffering, the legacy of a 1925 bus accident that damaged her spine. One of her works hangs in the Louvre, and someone recently parted with $1.4 million for another at Sothe-

T.R. O'Neill-Lopez is a screenwriter whose article on Hollywood Stalinists, "Pact Man," appeared in the Winter 1991 California Political Review.

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by's. But it is not Kahlo's art that has turned her into film fodder.

For trendy filmmakers, Kahlo, who died in 1954, is the ultimate in political correctness. She was part Indian, part Jewish, and a resident of the Third World, which is to say, in the always categorical view of the left, she was a victim of colonialism, racism, anti-Semitism, artistic bias against women, and Latin American machismo. And there's more.

Frida Kahlo was also a Stalinist bisexual with a pronounced mustache, which could also make her a victim of sexism. She was twice married to muralist Diego Rivera, former general secretary of the Mexican Communist Party, and alternately a Trotskyite and Stalinist according to fashion. Frida and Diego were known as "sacred monsters" in Mexico.

Frida's creed was "make love, take a bath, make love again." She smoked, swore like a trooper, flaunted her abortions, drank cognac by the liter and became a drug addict. She also wore men's suits and ties and twice cut off all her hair. With a woman so Ahead of Her Time, it's little wonder Madonna covets the role. According to her biographer, Hayden Herrera, Frida's dearest object of devotion was herself. She thus fits perfectly in Hollywood where, as Evelyn Waugh noted, all is a continuous psalm of self praise.

BUT THE *pièce de résistance* is Frida's politics.

"I only want three things in life," Kahlo told a friend toward the end of her life, "to live with Diego, to continue painting, and to belong to the Communist Party." Moreover, she affirmed, "I was a member of the Party before I met Diego and I think I am a better Communist than he is or ever will be." After a lapse, during which time she still paid dues, she was readmitted to the party in 1948 after submitting to a humiliating rite of confession. By then Stalinatry was in full sway, the Soviets had enslaved half of Europe, and the KGB was tossing Kahlo's fellow artists into prison.

Such trifles didn't bother Frida, whose bed bore portraits of Engels, Marx, Lenin, and Mao. "I love them as pillars of the new communist world," she wrote. Expressions like "Viva Stalin!" littered her diary. When the great dictator passed away, she was moved to tears. One of her last works was a loving portrait of Uncle Joe.

For Kahlo, "the revolution is harmony of form and color." Her painting, "Marxism Will Give Health to the Sick," features a saintly Karl Marx strangling an American eagle. Frida hated "gringos," and one of her last public appearances was at an anti-American demonstration. This is a woman they'll love in Dayton and Dubuque.

LEFTIST HAGIOGRAPHY such as "Reds" and "Havana," both with major stars, lost millions. The Kahlo pictures should follow suit, proving that Hollywood is hopelessly out of touch. But no matter. For the beaujolais Bolsheviks, whose clout is strong in the dream factories, this kind of project is a labor of love. CPR

Wilson's Return to Little Big Horn

(Continued from page 19)

of four "must win" races and 11 of 13 (or 15) races statewide.

So why did the governor do it? Why did Wilson divert at least $800,000 to $1 million of Republican money that could have been used against Democrats in November into this suicide mission within his own party? Two reasons spring to the forefront.

First, the governor and his staff actually seem to *believe* what they read in newspapers about the Republican Party "changing" — becoming more liberal. They show little or no skepticism about it no matter how obviously wishful the thinking is that is dished out by the liberal reporters who write this stuff. And they apparently don't know enough GOP history to recognize that these same reporters (or their spiritual forerunners) have been writing the very same lines every two years since 1964. Ever since Barry Goldwater smashed the Nelson Rockefeller-Country Club Republican hold on the Party, the liberal press has been stuck on two themes: 1) conservative dominance of the GOP is temporary; and 2) the Republican nominee or nominees are too conservative to get elected. Ronald Reagan was "too extreme" to have any chance against Pat Brown in 1966. And virtually every conservative nominee since has been written off the same way. Every two years the voters prove them wrong, but nothing changes. Pete Wilson and his crew read this nonsense apparently believing every word.

OF COURSE, the Wilsonites *want* to believe what the press says about the GOP. That is the second reason they dove headfirst into the primaries. The governor's closest advisors and many of the *very* seri-

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ous and *very* self-important young people around him see the "cleansing" of the Republican Party as their mission in life. In a moment of indiscretion a few years ago, one of them actually let out that they intended to remake the GOP "as if 1964 never happened." The 1992 primaries were to be a step in that process.

Instead, the election results showed that if anyone is "f***ing irrelevant," it is the people who want to turn the clock back to the "good old days" of moderate spinelessness. The party has not changed. The typical California Republican voter is still conservative and still wants his party's nominees to stand for something.

The results June 2 presented Wilson with a dilemma but also an opportunity. The conservative leadership of California showed their maturity in 1990 when, to insure a fair redistricting, they supported Wilson for governor almost unanimously. And despite all that has transpired since then, the primaries just past were conducted with a minimum of overt "Wilson bashing." Conservative leaders saw to it that their candidates did not gratuitously insult or offend the governor, even when it would have helped their candidates to do so. The conservative leadership kept their eyes on the ball: Republican majorities in the Legislature.

Now Wilson has an opportunity to show some maturity of his own, to show that he, too, can overcome pride and keep his eye on the ball. He now has a chance to thank conservatives for their 1990 support by embracing *all* his party's Assembly nominees in 1992. His actions the next few weeks will tell whether he will yet become the leader of the Republican Party in California, or go on with his losing crusade to "remake" it into something it is not. People who know Wilson best say he can be a tough leader when need be. Here's hoping he shows the toughness and leadership necessary to accept the June 2 decisions of Republican voters. After all, the '96 New Hampshire primary is just around the corner. CPR

An Obligation to Educate

(Continued from page 22)

ions have on American education. The people who hire the school staff will have to start paying attention to the quality of the people they hire because parents will be looking for a good result. Remember, with choice you have to have standards and there must be public scrutiny of those standards. Parents are going to say: how well do they teach reading at this school? Let's look at the reading scores. Let's look at the results. They are going to have to hire people — not just who went to the right school and took the right courses — but who are effective teachers of reading. If all that is left in the NEA is effective teachers, I would have no problem with that organization. Who would? But they will have to police their own ranks or they are going to go out of business.

A question often asked about choice is: will a voucher system take anything away from school integration? Actually, I predict that any state that adopts choice will show a net *increase* in integration. Nationally, Catholic schools, which are private and parochial, are more integrated than public schools because residential living patterns result in *de facto* segregation. In all the choice programs we've seen around the country — and they are limited to public school choice (which is only half the loaf; I think we should try to get the whole loaf) — we have seen a net increase in integration. That's because if you make the academic offerings attractive, almost everyone is going to want them regardless of race. Parents don't object so much to putting their child on a bus to go to school. What they object to is being told they *must* put their children on a bus. When they make the decision that that's a better school, then they're going to organize a carpool or use a bus and feel much better about it. Again, the main reason for giving parents choice is not to create political turmoil or to make people unhappy. It is to do something for the sake of children whose lives really do — many of them — hang in the balance depending upon the kind of education they receive.

I LEARNED one statistic when I was secretary of education I'll never forget: a black student who graduates from high school with a "B" average is more likely to go to college than a white student who graduates from high school with a "B" average. If he can get that far with a "B" average, given the lousy schools he is probably going to and oftentimes rough environment from which he is coming, he's got the wherewithal to go on to college and probably will do so. But there are too few of these kids because they are demoralized by the schools they attend. Americans have heard a lot of debate about affirmative action and reverse discrimination. I think the

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civil rights debate we *ought* to have should be centered around our classrooms. A chance to have a good education is the most important equal opportunity goal in America, and choice is the way to achieve it.

I was asked on a radio show today: won't choice mean the destruction of public education? Absolutely not. It may mean the destruction of some schools, but I know some schools that deserve to be destroyed because they are not doing anything. A school does not have an obligation to exist. It has an obligation to educate and if it does not educate it should not exist. It gains its status, its claim to exist by virtue of what it does, not by virtue of who works there or whether they are punching the clock. It should exist only if it educates. CPR

Goodbye, California

(Continued from page 24)

murky then, how can we expect much better now?

Reasonable regulation is a necessity. But our protectors have run amok. They are making our air better, but our lives worse.

Environmental extremism is only one contributor to the decline and fall of Los Angeles and California. There's much more to the good life than Angelenos have today. Those Who Know Best should know what's been lost.

There are weekends at leisure when drive-by means to drop in on friends.

There are movies that don't cost $7.

There is medical and automobile insurance at fair prices.

There are phone bills whose first two pages aren't zone unit calls.

There are concerts when two hours of music isn't followed by an hour of getting out of the parking lot.

There is silence.

There's so much more to life's quality than today's California can offer. There are roads where individuals who are self-employed or individuals like doctors and dentists and lawyers and writers and masons and glazers and carpenters and sales reps aren't compressed into packed freeway lanes while full-time car pool lanes are half used or less. And yes, I'm one of the above and I resent car pool lanes because the only way I can use one is to pick up a hitchhiker.

There are walls and buses and freeway signs not smeared with graffiti. Believe it or not, such things exist.

There are politicians who don't thumb their noses at the will of the voters, at least not so blatantly, and don't become wealthy in office, though perhaps this particular fever is endemic to every locale. Honest politicians are, I most strongly believe, more rare than whooping cranes. But in California, the species is extinct.

There are school systems where the education of children, not the enrichment and comfort of faculty and administrators, is the number one goal.

There's government — or ought to be — that knows when to quit growing and when to quit taxing.

There are, or should be, bureaucrats who don't justify their jobs by thinking up endless volumes of new and more complex rules.

There are streets not dotted with panhandlers and intersections without fruit peddlers.

All these are elements in a quality of life we Californios no longer enjoy. So I go. With me I take a nice middle class income, the hefty taxes I pay, and an enduring bitterness at how California in general and Los Angeles most specifically, have been messed up by politicians and bureaucrats who are not only dumber than dirt, but have the common sense of a tree stump.

As the region sinks into perpetual recession, as its violence bubbles toward that inevitable day of implosion, and as California's quality of life oozes back down the scale, I'll be somewhere else, where just getting through the day isn't a full-time chore. CPR

Meese

(Continued from page 27)

lihood of leaks both in appointing the people around him and also in formulating press strategy.

Also the federal budget process should be changed radically to end the continuing incentives to spend that exist today. Another point is Congress. I think term limits are a very important step toward restoring a citizen legislature, which Congress was originally intended to be.

Finally, the president's judicial appointments are among the administration's major accomplishments. He appointed judges who would carry out their duties as the Constitution intended, as interpreters of law, not substituting their own judgment either for what they thought ought to be in the Constitution or what they thought the Congress should have done in a particular statute. This is necessary to limit the judiciary, like the other branches of government, under the Constitution. CPR

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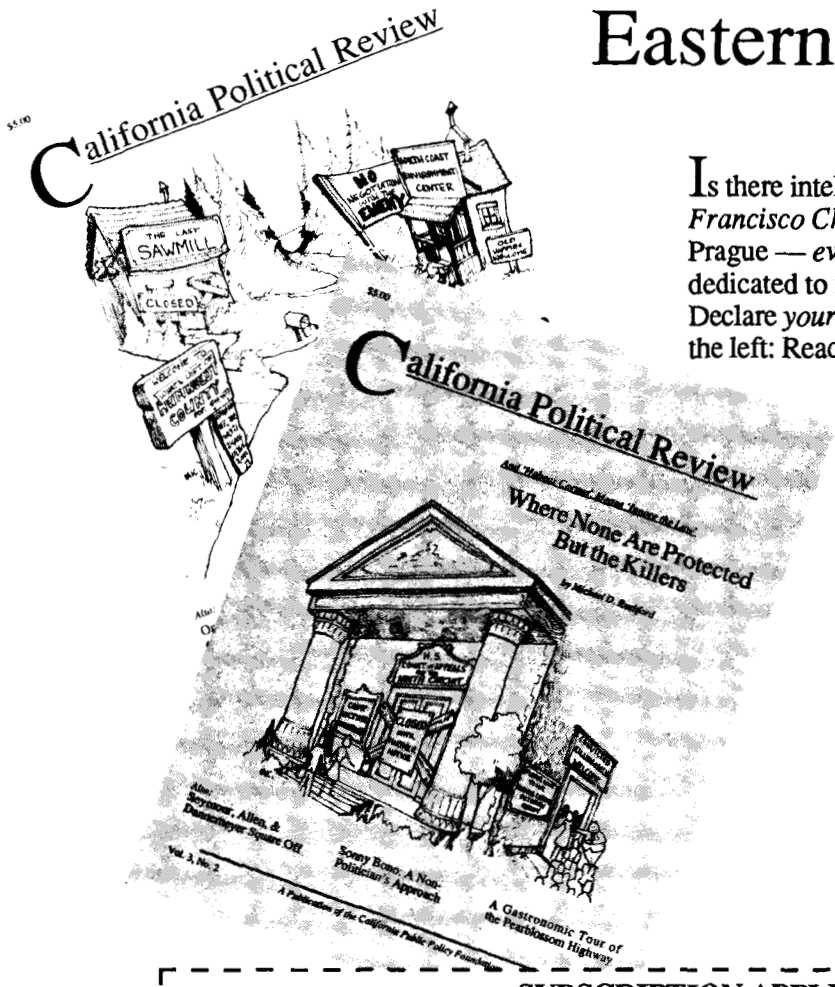
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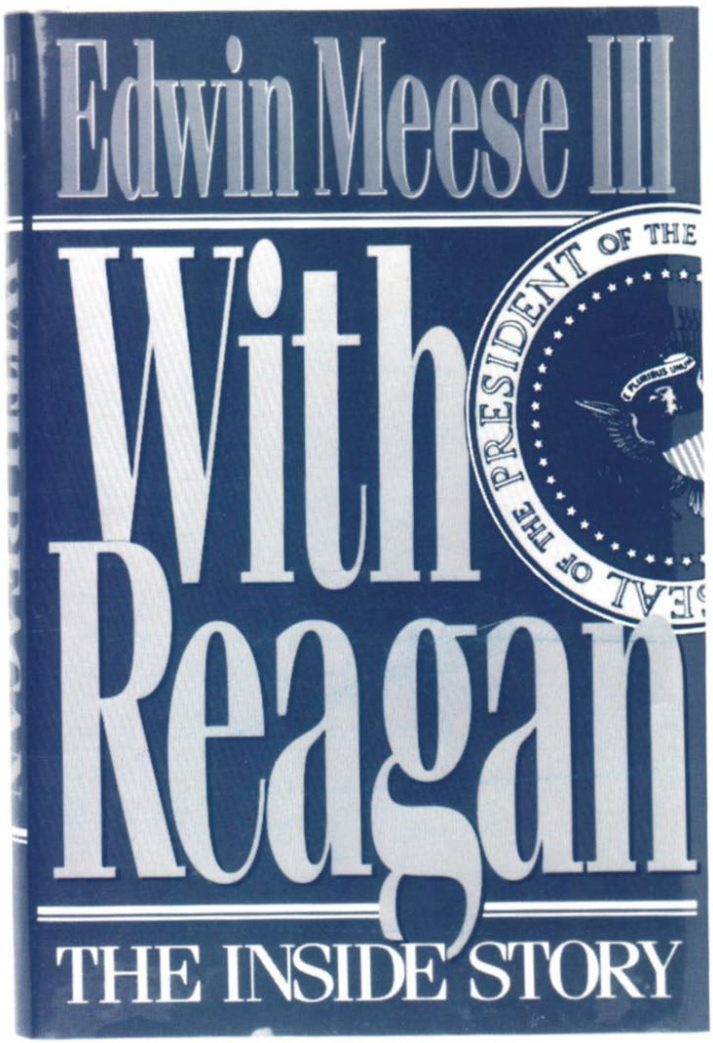

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